

Labor Age

AUGUST, 1932 15 CENTS

**Conventions, Platforms,
Political Power**

A. J. MUSTE

**Conference of Southern
Workers**

TESS HUFF

Unemployed Begin to Act

HARRY A. HOWE

A Local Cleans House

WM. L. NUNN

Hosiery Workers Convention

EDMUND P. RYAN

Revolt At High Point



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NOTICE

The next regular meeting of the New York Branch of CPLA will be held on Friday, August 19, at 128 East 16th Street.

As this will be the last business meeting before the National Convention, all members are urged to attend.

And remember, the meeting starts promptly at 8 P. M. No further notice will be given.

Plans have been made for an Evening of Ingenious Entertainment FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2 Hold That Evening Open!
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• LABOR AGE •

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ALL the signs indicate that the Labor Day week-end of 1932 will prove a landmark in the history of the American labor movement. That date will witness the first official

convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the call for which was published in LABOR AGE for July

CPLA Girds
For Battle

and is now being distributed to CPLA branches and left-wing groups which desire to form and to put a permanent official foundation under a left-wing vanguard organization with a clear theoretical basis, a realistic strategy and a militant tactic suited to American conditions.

Framing a constitution and adopting a program for such an organization at such a crisis, is not a routine or formal dry-as-dust job. On the contrary, the NEC realizes that it means an honest, exciting and comprehensive attempt to appraise the American labor scene and to state a program for dealing with it. Careful plans are being made, therefore, to report on the activities of the CPLA to date—the provisional NEC thus rendering an account of its stewardship—to state the reasons why a permanent left-wing vanguard organization must now be set up, to define in a thorough fashion our program for the unemployed, for the work in the unions, for organization of the basic industries, and in other fields.

Meantime conferences have been held in the steel industry and in southern textiles, and branches are speeding up the work of organization, so that the convention may be representative of as much real strength as we can muster.

We again invite left-wing groups, militant trade unions and similar organizations to correspond with us about sending fraternal delegates who may take part in the deliberations of the convention, though without vote. CPLA members will be welcome at the sessions and are urged to attend. Branches should beg, borrow and steal to send a full representation.

At no time has CPLA had so many and such firm connections with the working-class, at no time has it been engaged in so many vital activities and struggles. Nowhere, among workers, does one encounter any serious criticism of our program when it is clearly stated to them. No one can view the present confusion in the labor movement and the swift drift toward Fascism in the United States without realizing that no time must be lost in rallying all available forces behind that program. That job we shall accomplish on the Labor Day week-end.



JULY 27, 1932 is now a historic date. On that day the cry for bread of the ex-soldiers was answered by bullets and bayonets.

“Heroes” of 1918 “Criminals” of 1932

Street wanted them to die.

To his already shady record Herbert Hoover added one more foul touch when he stooped to attack the characters of the bonus marchers. Never has a mass of 20,000 people, under such provocation as they have received in the Capital,

acted in such a disciplined way. But Hoover—with the spleen of a cheap Czar—declared that there were many “criminals” among them. That was his excuse for his own criminal action. The vileness of the man and of his class never came out in deeper colors than in that lying epithet.

With almost unanimous voice, the capitalist press rushed to the defense of their own interests. They approved the brutality of Herbert Hoover. It was a different reaction that was felt among the people as a whole. “Democratic” nationalism has been our American religion. Here, in one blow, it was shattered and shown to be a catch-word among those who capitalize it most. Those who fought for democracy were deprived of the most primitive of democratic rights by the armed forces of the nation. The blow was as great as the “Little Father” wrought in Russia in 1905, when his soldiery fired upon the holy ikons of Father Gapon.

The mask of American democracy has been cast aside, and in its place is seen the rule of the machine gun and the tear gas bomb. Official vandalism at Washington is the signal for a campaign of official terror against the unemployed throughout the country.

The unemployed millions will organize themselves nevertheless. They will not be intimidated by the wolf cry of “red” which is now being used by the forces of reaction. They will not be discouraged by the false bravado with which the Communists played into the hands of the reactionaries by “admitting” that they, the Reds, were responsible.

The unemployed Americans—whether ex-soldiers or not—are in a desperate pass. “Rugged individualism” has translated itself into official arson and murder. The workers of this country will know how to answer that, or we are mistaken in them.

The reddening sky above the Anacostia flats, as their shacks were burned by the soldiery, is a signal for them also—to organize and fight.



PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN was indignant. At least, his utterances sounded so. Seldom has he been moved to such a pitch as to call any laborer in the vineyard of the A. F. of L. a Will A. F. of L. Clean House?

At Atlantic City’s session of the Executive Council, just concluded, he applied this term to the labor racketeer. He declared firmly, the entire Executive Council assenting, that said racketeer must be driven from the labor movement.

And then he made a threat that has been rarely heard. If international unions will not act to clean their houses, the American Federation of Labor will expel them from that organization.

Two cases of reactionary leadership and union abuses came sharply before the Council. Sam Kaplan, boss of the New York moving picture operators, was Case No. 1. “Brother” Kaplan enjoys a salary of \$21,000 a year for conferring the privilege on his local union of acting as its business agent. He owns and operates a large movie machine repair concern, to which the employers of his men are

irresistibly drawn. They overwhelm him with the business they bestow upon him. Any millionaire might envy its lucrativeness. Within the union, at the same time, he fines and expels members with a lordly hand.

President William Elliott of the international union in the moving picture industry was in long and solemn confab with the Executive Council. Whatever came of it is yet to be seen.

A thorough report was said to have been made to the A. F. of L. leaders by Edward F. McGrady, special representative, who had been investigating labor abuses in New York. The newspapers intimated that the report was not favorable to Kaplan. That was undoubtedly true. At latest reports, however, Sam is still the boss of his local union. He is trying to get that local to pay legal expenses in the action against him by union members.

Our eyes are a-weary, watching for Kaplan to be kicked out of the labor movement in clean-cut fashion.

Case No. 2 was "Czar" Brandle of New Jersey. Our June issue told his tale of success. This was duly reported likewise by McGrady to the Executive Council. President P. J. Morrin of the International Ironworkers' Union seems to have had a fainting fit when he heard Brandle was to be on the carpet. He did all he could for Teddy. President Green was said to have become indignant again—this time at Morrin.

Up to this date, however, Brandle remains ensconced in all the high-and-mighty offices the New Jersey labor movement can confer upon him.

The Brandle-Kaplan mess is a part only of the cleaning up that the A. F. of L. must engage in. Racketeering and Reaction have sunk deep into the organizational framework of the affiliated unions. In New Jersey Brandle must go—and all his allies, Thomas Sherlock, Joseph Fay, William Newman and the rest. New York has still a lot of overdue cleansing work for the hands of William Green. Then, there are Chicago, St. Louis and other points West.

President Green has called the racketeers names. He has uttered dire threats. The big question is: Will the A. F. of L. actually clean house?



THE most important decision arrived at by the annual convention of the League for Independent Political Action recently held at Cleveland was to call as soon as

The LIPA Convention

Republicans and Democrats and dedicated to increasing social control of industry and natural resources. This proposed conference will be a futile gesture or a move up a blind alley if it merely brings together miscellaneous groups and individuals who have good intentions and a more or less praiseworthy paper program. Parties built on that basis, and hence essentially propaganda organizations rather than instruments of political power, we already have in overabundance.

If attention is concentrated on bringing the more progressive trade unions, some farmer organizations, labor parties like those in West Virginia and Superior, Wisc., unemployed leagues, and similar groups with a labor base into this conference, then it will prove important in a good sense. In fact an effort ought to be made to get such groups to sponsor the conference and assume leadership in it.

It must be confessed that "the labor note," the fundamental importance of the economic base, was not stressed

at the recent Cleveland conference of the LIPA until Chairman Muste and Jimmy Richards of the CPLA spoke. The encouraging feature of a convention which was decidedly middle-class in its personnel, was that the speeches of these labor militants were greeted with spontaneous and thunderous applause, and that the discussion which followed heartily endorsed the sentiment of our CPLA speakers: "If the absence of working-class elements from this convention is taken as an excuse for folding arms in idleness, that will be unfortunate. But if it is taken to mean that a new party must have a middle-class basis, rather than that we must go out to get the workers, that will be a tragedy."



AT Lausanne, the Powers finally said in the open, though in a round-about fashion which gives each one a loophole through which eventually to follow its own interest,

If Capitalism Lingers a While

that Germany cannot be expected to pay reparations.

They also said, though in even more round-about fashion that war debts to the United States will not be paid. We are not going to let ourselves admit that we have heard this until after the elections in November are over. In the meantime Congressmen can keep on spouting that we are going to get that money and so keep voters from thinking about realities. Anyway, a move has been made to keep German finances from going bust just yet.

At Geneva the Disarmament Conference was saved from breaking up. It adopted some resolutions which sound as though something had been accomplished and it adjourned to meet again in January. The general effect was a quieting one.

Meantime general economic activity in the United States and elsewhere is still at a dangerously low level. It is still possible that a further crash will come. Yet undoubtedly there is a feeling, this time not purely an attempt to create prosperity by propaganda, that the curve has gone as low as it is going, that it may presently begin slowly to rise. In practically every major depression which this country has experienced, a time has come when a temporary recovery lasting in each case ten months has occurred followed by another dip before a major upswing. It is possible that this stage has now been reached. Certainly the powers that be will make every effort to create some "prosperity" or a plausible imitation of it between now and election time. And Federal relief appropriations, inadequate as they are, will for another brief spell keep relief funds from complete bankruptcy in cities like Chicago and Detroit, and thus somewhat allay discontent.

If these and other developments on the national and the international field to which reference might be made, really mean that a temporary and partial recovery may be under way, certain things must now be kept in mind. First, we must show the workers that "recovery" under capitalism can be nothing but temporary and partial. There is no lack of concrete evidence to support the point. How can there be peace with a dictatorship of reactionists established in Germany? How can all or nearly all the people thrown out of work by machinery get jobs? And how get prosperity when you have a permanent army of unemployed?

Secondly, the workers in the period of temporary recovery will be in the mood for revolt and action. For on the one hand, suffering for a time will be more intense, with savings utterly exhausted, relief funds spent, etc. On the other hand, the fact that a few find jobs, that there is a sense of things "picking up" will lift the heavy load of fear that now hangs over the masses, the impulse to hang on to

the miserable bit they have and not complain out loud. That will mean strikes, a readiness to listen to organization appeals both on the economic and on the political field, a period of intense and rapid forward movement on the labor field. While we carry forward the magnificent work among the unemployed which we have begun in North Carolina, West Virginia, Allentown, Philadelphia, Paterson, with the B.E.F. in Washington, and elsewhere, we must prepare for this new turn if capitalism is indeed about to steady itself again for a little while. A breathing-spell for capitalism must be made into one more chance to build an American labor movement which will have the will, the courage and the intelligence to ride into power in the next phase of the crisis of capitalism.

▼ ▼ ▼ ▼

MORE brave words came out of Atlantic City than those concerning racketeering. The Executive Council came out, at last, for unemployment insurance.

Jobless Insurance Discovered

Green will speak like a small business man on this subject.

Erased are the orations of Matthew Woll against the dire evils of the "dole." Gone are the days when President

Pressure of the union membership, through the business agents, was responsible. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action can compliment itself for keeping the issue alive in the locals. It was clear that the lengthening depression would compel the union membership to demand action from their business agents. Since the Boston convention of 1930, it was certain that the officials of the A. F. of L. would have to turn a complete flip-flop. This they have now done.

And yet, in making this somersault they have not landed entirely on their feet. According to report, the A. F. of L. recommendation for jobless insurance will include contributions by the workers. How can that body make such a recommendation, when one of their chief objections to the plan was that it might involve workers' contributions?

The A. F. of L. will make another mistake if it moves along the line indicated. Unemployment insurance or unemployment compensation, whichever you choose to call it, should not be paid by the workers. To require that, means the establishment of a bad principle.

In any equitable unemployment insurance scheme, the employers and the State alone must pay. In discovering jobless insurance, let the A. F. of L. find the real article.

Political Statement by the N. E. C. of the Conference For Progressive Labor Action

WE call upon the workers, whatever their previous political affiliation, absolutely to refuse in the forthcoming election to vote for any candidate on the Republican or the Democratic ticket. Let us register a mighty protest against the politicians who in alliance with big business and profiteering bankers have plunged the nation into misery in the very midst of plenty and who have failed to do anything adequate either to relieve present distress or to prevent another and greater economic catastrophe in the future. From Herbert Hoover, exponent of Ragged Individualism, and Franklin Roosevelt, exponent of Fake Liberalism, down to the smallest office-holder, Republicans and Democrats should be rebuked and disowned. Cast your votes against the profiteers and for the masses! Vote yourself out of the Republican and Democratic parties forever! Above all, join in the movement to build a unified mass Labor Party which will help to bring a new day in this land!

No such mass Labor Party exists today. The determination of the course which militants should follow in the present election campaign is, therefore, not a single matter. No ideal alternative is offered.

The primary duty of militants in the present crisis continues to be that of agitating, educating and organizing for a mass Labor Party. The NEC of the CPLA will throughout the coming months continue to devote its energies to this work, firmly convinced that this is more important than piling up votes for candidates in a single election.

There are in the field a number of political parties, some national, others local in character, which are independent of the Republican and Democratic parties, solicit the votes of the workers, whether industrial, agricultural, clerical, technical or professional, seek to represent the interests of the masses as against the exploiters and advocate increased social control of natural resources and industry. Included in this list are the Independent Labor Party of West Vir-

ginia, various city ILP's, Farmer-Labor parties as in Minnesota and Illinois, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party.

There are honest differences of opinion between some of these parties. The CPLA itself cannot accept any one of them, at least as now led and constituted, as a satisfactory left-wing vanguard of American labor. We again call upon all sincere elements in these groups, however, to forget all momentary, narrow and sectarian considerations and to back the movement for building a unified mass party of industrial and agricultural workers with which existing parties may be affiliated or in which they may be merged.

Each of the existing parties naturally tries to promote its own candidates during an election campaign. Even amid the activities of an election campaign, we do well, however, to follow the example set by the ILP of West Virginia and to keep in mind the fundamental need of unity of effort, the winning of the trade unions away from the old parties, and the development of a genuinely mass party to combat the rising tide of Fascism in the United States.

In the present circumstances the CPLA does not give an exclusive endorsement to the candidates of any one political party in the forthcoming election. It is quite conceivable that militants in one locality can best advance the basic aim of a mass labor party by supporting one of the above groups, while in another locality another course is necessary.

In every case unification of the workers, the building of a mass party, winning the trade unions to independent political action, building the economic organizations of the workers and farmers so that the political party may have a sound and sure base, stimulating the employed and the unemployed to struggle on the industrial field—these and not electioneering remain for militants the primary and essential job.

A Conference of Southern Workers

IT is Sunday, July 25, in Hendersonville, North Carolina. The Southern Industrial League, organized by Lawrence Hogan a year ago, has met for its first conference. Sixty-five workers from Southern mill towns crowd the small room. It is the first conference of its kind in the South.

That conditions are terrible, the reports agree.

Story after story of wage-cuts, stretch-outs, speed-ups, lay-offs, pellagra, hunger, slavery, and signs of revolt, told by men and women who have grown up in the mills, many of them the worse off from hunger, put before the convention a cross-section picture of a vast, seething industry on the verge of eruption. The rank and file reports tacitly demanded an answer to a hard question: We can't stand this much longer, what are we going to do?

"In High Point," reports chairman Hogan, "where 6000 workers are striking, there is a wonderful spirit. The workers are flaming with revolt. The same conditions that hurled them from the mills to struggle with the bosses for a living are common in all the mills throughout the South.

"The textile industry has made more changes in the past five weeks than in the past five years. There have been more wage-cuts, more lay-offs, short time and piece work, in the past five weeks, than ever before. Out of 104 mills where I distributed the *Shuttle* I found only 4 mills running. The others were shut down entirely or working part time. In 9 mills things are ready to pop.

"In the print cloth mills the highest wage is \$7.35 a week. The average is \$2.50."

"Look at Me!"

A small man, underweight, who comes from a mill in _____, N. C., and whose name cannot be printed here, since he still has a job, makes this report:

"I've been 30 years in a cotton mill.

"Look at me.

"I weigh 128 pounds.

"I'm a fixer, I work 11 hours a night, and I'm the bossman's slave. I get 27 cents an hour and I furnish my own tools. I make \$7.45 a week. My helpers get 17 cents an hour and make \$3.27 a week. We have to take what we can get or be kicked out.

"The sanitation is unbelievable. The floors have not been scrubbed since

by Tess Huff

"Volcano-like."

This is how Larry Hogan describes the textile mills that dot the South.

"Everywhere you go they are ready to explode."

1904. That's a fact. The tobacco and snuff spit is caked so I have to scrape it away before I can get to the nuts.

"The toilets are full of maggots and the odor is terrible.

"The doctors won't come without the money and school children are infected and there is lots of pellagra. We tried to get the State Board of Health to do something about the 6 mills in the village. There is much sickness. About the only time the people can bathe is when it rains.

"I can't make a living. We pay 90 cents rent a week for a 3 room shack and my wife and children are almost naked. Do you think they get medical attention? No, friends, I'm telling you about how the workers live in the South now.

"The boss wants to keep us blind. My boss, he used to be a preacher, but he knows how to get more work out of men.

"The South needs a union and my people who fought against the union 20 or 30 years ago are now ready to fight for it. We are waking up, friends, and we will learn to stick together."

The speaker sat down. They said he was a real Jimmy Higgins. By some kind of proletarian magic, he had seen humor in tragedy, and his speech, magic-like, lightened the atmosphere in the room, warmed all hearts. Certainly workers like this man, one felt, will build a Southern labor movement before they have finished.

"But Still Paying Dividends"

A young woman, slender, tall and blue-eyed, reports. Her name is Beulah Carter and she is all-Southern even to the low musical drawl in her voice. She studied trade union tactics at Brookwood and for two months she has been organizing hosiery workers. She tells about Durham, N. C.

"Five-hundred people are applying every day for relief. People are living 7 days on 75 cents and they told me that pellagra is increasing.

"In Durham the mills are running 3 days every other week; in West Durham they run 2 or 3 days a week; and the workers make \$5 and \$6 a week. Full fashioned hosiery workers who used to make \$50 and \$60 a week are working for \$7 and \$8. But the silk mills in Durham are still paying dividends.

"Cigaret workers are working regularly but they are worked to death. They work 3 nights a week till 12 o'clock. They had 2 or 3 cuts; the girls are making \$7 and \$8 a week, the men \$12 and \$15.

"Nearly all building trades unions are out of existence. They had a meeting and I went. Two men were there. I went to a meeting of the Plumbers' Union and one man showed up. The Painters are out of existence. The Barbers have the only functioning union in the city."

Another woman reports. She tells about working 10 hours a day 2 or 3 days a week. They had a big cut in 1931. She has been working in a hosiery mill for 3 years and is afraid she will lose her job if her name is printed.

High Point

Three women from High Point, where a few days ago six thousand textile workers uprose in a city-wide spontaneous strike, including Negro house servants, such was the spirit, tell about wages cut so low that they can't be cut any more, and of black conditions that precipitated the strike.

"The girls can't earn enough and they live in crowded rooms. They come home so tired they can't talk. They are humans, they want some fun in life. One girl ran away because she couldn't pay her board.

"They had 2 cuts this spring, 4 in some departments. I have been out of work over a year."

The second woman speaks:

"There are 32 mills and in the mill where I worked 58 women have to use one toilet. There are no windows in the building and we had light globes the size of a dollar to work by. The ventilation was not much. Cardboard cuspidors are scattered about and they sweep the mill once a week. Just one colored man is supposed to clean the whole mill.

"When an order comes in they work you day and night.

"They cut the loopers \$1 a hundred in November. The workers make \$7 and \$8 a week."

"Northern people own some of the 32 mills and local people own the others. They live in \$65,000 and \$85,000 homes."

"For 10 months I have not found work."

Like the first woman reporting from High Point, the speaker wants her name kept secret, not because she has work, as in the other cases, but because she has no work, and is seeking for work!

The third hosiery worker puts the finishing touches to the background of the strike.

"In the neighborhood where I live I know men and women who have been working for about 50 cents a day, \$2 or \$3 a week. Full time would not give us a good living. Folders have been cut 3 or 4 times in the last year. They have cut wages so low they can't cut them any more."

Marion

Reports from Marion, N. C., like those from other mill towns, show the workers in the third year of the depression caught in a web of monstrous circumstances, the insane vampire, Capitalism, sucking the blood of workers and children.

Four wage cuts since the 1929 Marion strike, wherein 6 strikers were murdered by the state, leave the workers earning an average of \$3.50 a week, the delegates are told by a Southern Brookwood graduate, unemployed. Sanitation, however, he says ironically, is better since the strike.

"A baby died," a woman from East Marion reports, "because the young mother was told if she didn't get to the mill on time she'd lose her job. There is no relief available and the people are starving."

"They won't give me a job since the 1929 strike. Before that I was in the mills 7 years. The windows are all kept down and on cold days we come out sweating. The toilets are flushed 2 or 3 times a day and the drinking water is in the same room with the toilets."

"The owners tell everybody the average wage is \$16, but the foremen, who used to get that, are now taking cuts, looking for jobs, and pawning their autos."

"The machines start at 5:40 in the morning, but they blow the work whistles at 7 o'clock to make outsiders think the mills start at that time. The workers have to get up early if they have jobs. And they give us 30 minutes for lunch, sometimes they double up and work through lunch. They don't allow us to stop a minute."



Larry Hogan Holding Secret Meeting in Woods

Efficiency Experts.

Two men came down from New York to Greensboro last year to make a time study of the workers. For several days they stood over the workers, watches in hand. Twenty mothers, some of them with as much as 18 years service, were fired from one mill because they were too slow. The Bedaux system was installed. One girl had her wages cut under the speed-up system 50 per cent for the same work.

"We couldn't stand it," the delegate, a woman from Greensboro, reports, "and on February 28 we walked out. Finally we had to go back, we agreed to a 12½ per cent cut, but there was to be no discrimination. Inside 3 weeks the strike committee was fired. We struck again, about 400 of us. The picket line got out a few more. They took the committee back and we returned to work."

A man from Caroleen who has five children tells about earning \$3.50 and \$4 a week.

"A hundred of my friends are in the same boat. I had to drop my insurance after paying on it for 15 years. I started a group last fall, I have 12 key people now, and I'm feeling around for more. The boss has a lot of kinfolks in the mill making it hard to spread union work."

Reports from Forest City where wages were chopped off 35 per cent last November put the number of unemployed at 300. In Hickory, where the U.T.W. still has a charter but not much life, the boys want to start a union. Other reports are the same. Everywhere there is misery and the workers know there is misery and they are looking about, hoping, ques-

tioning: We can't stand it much longer, what are we to do?

Bill Reich from the North Carolina Pioneer Youth Camp speaks. He tells the conference that the intellectuals in America are today interested in the labor movement, but that they see things from above, like a man looking through a microscope, and that the real labor movement will have to come from the workers themselves. The workers are held back by the capitalist movies, newspapers, public schools, which, he points out, spread an anti-labor philosophy, and by poor food, poor housing. The crying need is for workers' education.

Irene Hogan speaks. She tells about how oppressed workers in 14-16th century England came to America for freedom. "Time rolled on, industry came, America grew, but today—our cities are filled with hungry men. The huge fortunes, the billions spent preparing for war! This is the challenge we face. It is our job to do away with a system that neglects the workers."

Larry Hogan Sums Up

The chairman, Larry Hogan, sums up:

"These conditions in the South, comrades, come from a lack of organization. The A. F. of L. has been in the South with a million dollar organizing program, but what are the results? Conditions speak for themselves."

"We must build up a program of workers' education. Pick key men, train them, develop them for leadership. And the movement must come

(Continued on Page 29)



Larry Hogan Holding Secret Meeting in Woods

Revolt at High Point

by A Striker

AGAIN revolt flares up in the South. And again it is in North Carolina, proud protagonist of the New South, that the trouble begins. The place this time is High Point, a city which in recent years has sought to rival the nationally famous "13 acre" furniture mart fronting Lake Michigan in Chicago. "Come to beautiful High Point and buy your furniture," invited the handsomely engraved circulars. "Patronize your southern industries."

And they came. Thousands of buyers from below the Mason and Dixon line patriotically responded. The golf courses were crowded and the bootleg industry thrived. The town boomed. The furniture industry grew so that in 1928 North Carolina became the leading state in the Union in consumption of wood required for its furniture industry. High Point marched forward, in the vanguard, with the New South.

But this was before the depression. What is the situation today? Why did 12,000 workers throw down their tools on July 20 and march through the streets demonstrating? Is it because some ungodly and unpatriotic radicals came into town and incited them to revolt? Or is it perhaps that in the building of the New South, in the development of this southern industrial center, the welfare of the workers was not taken into consideration? Let us see.

Cheap and Contented Labor

The population of High Point has grown from 14,000 in 1920 to 40,000 today. Painting an idyllic picture of its "cheap and contented labor" for those who had capital to invest, in addition to expanding its furniture industry, it lured hosiery, cotton and silk mills seeking to escape union conditions elsewhere. It boasts 125 manufacturing plants with an output, before the depression, of \$52,185,880 annually and a pay-roll of \$10,000,000 paid to approximately 12,000 industrial workers, the total "gainfully employed" in the city amounting to nearly 17,000. Thus the annual income of an industrial worker before the prosperity crash was \$883 or about \$16 per week.

That, you will have to admit, was not a very extravagant income, but unemployment, short time, repeated wage cuts have chiseled away at it during the past two years until wages today have almost reached the vanishing point. The furniture industry is shot

As we go to press, our CPLA organizers in North Carolina inform us that the seamless hosiery workers in High Point some days ago accepted a settlement which represented a slight gain, but was presented by the employers in such a confused way that they will certainly soon take away whatever has been given unless the workers speedily build a real union. The full fashioned workers are still out at this writing, insisting that they will stick unless the April 1 wage-scale is restored. Larry Hogan has spoken before their meetings and they have promised to give serious consideration to affiliation with the Hosiery Workers Union after the strike is settled.

The police have been maneuvering to get Hogan and Beulah Carter, a CPLA hosiery worker from Durham, off the picket lines, but so far the rank and file of the strikers have stood by them, despite the fact that R. V. Bradley, chairman of the Strike Committee, has shown an extreme and dangerous deference to the suggestions of employers and politicians and tries to make the workers believe that Hogan and Carter should be treated as "outsiders!"—EDITOR.

to pieces. Hosiery is perhaps a little better off, but a number of hosiery mills furnish only one or two days work a week. Hosiery workers say that they can live on a \$2 per day wage provided they have five days work per week. Surely not much to ask for!

But consider this. The city welfare Department has been issuing grocery orders in the amount of \$4 per week to a medium sized family. A cotton mill worker with such a family to support (there are hundreds like this worker) reports that he earns \$4 for a 36-hour week. Is it surprising that this worker should consider it foolish to work? At present more than one-seventh of the workers in the city are on straight relief or being furnished relief by the city and the number is increasing daily!

Starvation, misery, desperation—this is the common story of the southern workers today. Two other factors had an important bearing on the outburst at High Point. There is a big, leading hosiery firm, the Adams-Millis. Mr. Millis is on the city council. Mr.

Adams is the big gun. His company leads every wage cutting move, then the other are "forced" to follow, and when the cut has gone the rounds, he begins another one. He is bitterly hated by all the workers, who tell you that a house recently built by him cost \$85,000 and the property on which it stands \$65,000. Secondly, the furniture workers charge that many of them have been thrown out of work because cheap labor was brought in from the farms to replace them. City authorities protest that they made special efforts to prevent this and that most of the employers "co-operated splendidly" in seeing that "High Point folks were taken care of first." But they admit that the cooperation was not 100 per cent.

This was the set-up when the Guilford Hosiery Mills announced a further wage reduction. The workers in the boarding department promptly walked out, and the other departments followed suit. Like a flash, word spread to other hosiery plants and in one after another every single worker shut off his machine and went on strike.

Strike!

As the hosiery workers poured into the streets—there were between four and five thousand of them presently—a wave of excitement swept through the little city. There was not a family which was not directly affected. The unemployed furniture workers, nursing an old grievance against those who had taken their jobs, spontaneously marched to the furniture mills, over-powered guards, unceremoniously tossed a couple of employers, who protested, out of the windows of their own mills and drove the workers into the streets. Next the cry went up to shut down every plant in town, and in one after another the workers were called out.

This presently appeared a tedious process and the crowd marched to the Duke Power Company's plant and shut off the power! Some, we learned, began calling Negro servants in private houses to come out on strike, and a few answered the call. Next, cars and buses were commandeered and the crowd went out to shut down hosiery and furniture mills in the surrounding towns, Thomasville, Kernersville and Lexington. At this point a total of 150 plants, large and small, were shut down and 20,000 workers idle.

During the evening crowds marched
(Continued on page 20)

The Miners' Strike in Illinois

by Wm. Stoeffels

TO understand the present strike of the miners in Illinois, we must go back to the strike of three years ago. This strike lasted something over five months, and brought the miners a reduction of approximately 30 per cent. At that time our officials, having negotiated this reduced wage scale with the operators, proceeded as per constitution to submit it to a referendum of the membership. They told the miners that under the new agreement they would get much more work and make as much, if not more, money than before.

After the vote had been taken the officials announced that the new agreement had carried, and ordered the miners back to work. To us it seemed peculiar that a majority should have voted to accept the reduction because one-fourth of the miners had been working pending settlement, and were consequently not pressed at all to vote for a reduction; and besides, even the miners that had been striking these five months, practically all of them talked against the reduction. There was a considerable uproar about this. The men said that the officials had stolen the referendum. Many local unions asked Walter Nesbit, secretary-treasurer of the district for a tabulated report of the referendum.

The 1929 reduction did not bring the Illinois miners more work as the officials had promised; much to the contrary, we got far less. Before the ink had dried on the new contract, the Eastern and Southern coal operators reduced wages in proportion to our reduction. The Illinois coal operators, to further reduce production costs, installed tremendously efficient machinery, throwing additional thousands of miners out of work.

Our "victory" of 1929 expired on the first of April this year. Since that date we have been on strike. It may seem peculiar to people who are not coal miners that we should go on strike when the public demands ice. Well, don't feel too dejected for your ignorance because even "us" coal miners do not know. I think, though, our officials could tell you all about it.

In this strike our demands, as laid down by the District Convention, are the six hour day and an increase in wages sufficient to leave our income for six hours as it was for eight. The Policy Committee which gives direction to this strike is composed of the residential officials of the sub-districts, the district officials, and the district ex-

ecutive board. None of these men is engaged in digging coal, most of them have not dug any for years, and apparently none of them intends to dig any in the future. Their salaries and expense accounts are many, many times what a coal miner can possibly earn.

Negotiations between our representatives and the operators have been almost continuous since March. Lately, however, the negotiations were conducted by a sub-committee composed of two for each side, John Walker and John Moulin representing the miners. The negotiations of this sub-committee were secret.

I must here mention that the Indiana miners also came out on strike April 1. Their demands are practically the same as ours, and their strike policy is also essentially the same as ours. The important feature of this policy is that it permits mine owners to operate their mines under the old scale pending settlement. In Indiana as well as in Illinois about one-fourth of the miners are working pending settlement. The demand for coal being extremely low, these men produce just about all the coal required. At the beginning of the strike some local unions protested against this policy, others merely grumbled, no doubt aware of the futility of protesting to the District Office.

The strike in Illinois and Indiana was uneventful until a few weeks ago when the secret diplomacy of the Indiana sub-scale committee yielded an agreement, giving the miners a reduction of 34½ per cent; no six hour day. The International and the district officials warmly recommended this new victory to the Indiana miners. The miners, however, and particularly those working pending settlement, hotly rejected it. Seeing the hostility of the miners, the whole scale committee assembled and rejected the agreement.

Subsequent to the attempted sell-out in Indiana, Walker and Moulin in Illinois triumphantly announced that their labors had been crowned with success. Having learned from what happened in Indiana, they submitted their document to the entire scale committee for ratification before divulging its terms to the miners. The scale committee ratified the agreement.

This tentative agreement called for a wage reduction of an average of 25 per cent. The price of explosives and of household coal to the miners was

only reduced slightly. The six-hour day was sidetracked, but the agreement permitted the mine owners to hoist coal and operate all machines 12 hours a day, instead of 8 hours as under the old contract.

The reduction of the top men and machine men was the largest. In fact this agreement was calculated as an inducement for further mechanization of the mines. Walker recommended that the miners accept this agreement, it would bring more work to the miners, relieve the distress of the women and children, etc. Almost all our "fat boys" felt very confident, in the public press, that the miners would ratify the agreement in the referendum that had to be taken . . . and tabulated.

The expected enthusiasm of the miners did, however, not break forth. In steady they held enormous mass meetings to protest. Some of these meetings were attended by 5,000 miners. Scores of trucks loaded with miners went to Springfield to give Walker a piece of their mind. Walker, however, was conveniently absent.

The referendum was taken on July 16. The unofficial results show 10,124 to accept and 25,792 to reject. A few local unions disregarded the referendum. All in all one fourth of the members did not vote.

Black Is White

To put the referendum across, our officials, the coal operators, the church, the press, and the police worked in union. Catholic Bishop Griffin issued a pastoral letter which was read in all the Catholic churches and printed in all the papers calling on the faithful to pray that the agreement may be accepted. Another representative of God in this vale of tears, the Reverend J. W. R. Maguire, C. S. V., president of St. Viator College, took it upon his shoulders to prove that the reduction really was an increase.

The miners' expedition to Springfield was escorted by the state highway police with the intention no doubt of giving them the appearance of wild men.

Barrels of ink were used by the public press including the "Illinois Miner" to convince us that black is white. Some editorials went so far as to say that if the miners rejected the agreement this would prove they don't want to work.

It would seem that men who do not intend to dig coal themselves would refrain from telling the miners what to

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Unemployed Begin To Act

EVERYONE, with perhaps the exception of Herbert Hoover, now recognizes the gravity of the unemployment situation. It is no longer a thing that can be concealed by juggling of statistics or escaped from by contemplation of rosy pictures of a prosperity just around the corner. Starvation in the midst of plenty, in this nation of "rugged individuals," is now a terrible reality. Each day the number of the destitute grows. Each day witnesses an increasing number of deaths from starvation, and the stories of workers killing themselves and their dependents because they could not find work become more horrible. In this nation of billionaires and of surpluses, 12 million or one-third of all the workers find themselves without jobs, without the means of securing the bare necessities of life.

Thus we are facing the third winter of the depression with the conditions of its victims, the workers, growing more desperate each day. City and state relief agencies, both public and private, are breaking down everywhere. In St. Louis, where a few weeks ago the police fired on a group of workers demanding bread, the charitable agencies have just turned adrift 13,000 families which they can no longer support. The city of Detroit has dropped 18,000 who now have nowhere to turn. Bridgeport and other cities and towns in Connecticut have declared that if the State does not come to their aid at once they have no hope whatever of caring for their unemployed, their own resources being entirely exhausted. A few weeks ago 800 men marched into Indianapolis, declaring that if they were not given help they would return 300,000 strong. In Clinton, Massachusetts, on July 7, more than 300 men, woman, and crying children, crowded the corridors of the Town Hall appealing for food. But there is no end to these stories. Each day brings new evidence of the desperate plight of millions of workers.

Confronted with this emergency, which is immeasurably more terrible than the San Francisco earthquake or the Mississippi flood, what is this great "government of the people, by the people and for the people," doing? Congress, after months of bitter opposition to any form of direct federal relief from that "great engineer" who fed the "starving Belgians" and ordered out the army against the starving veterans,

by Harry A. Howe

voted \$300,000,000 for direct relief to the states, just before it adjourned. This is a mere drop in the bucket. Even before the bill was signed 30 states had announced their intention to apply for this aid although they know that before they can get it they must show that they are "absolutely unable to finance the relief of distress."

As a contrast to this niggardly and inhuman attitude on the part of the government of the United States it is interesting to note what another government, in much more desperate straits, is doing for its unemployed. Between December, 1930, and November, 1931, Germany spent \$707,857,140 for unemployment insurance and relief. During the same period all agencies in the United States spent approximately \$295,000,000.* In Germany there are about four and one-half million unemployed: in the United States, even the American Federation of Labor now admits that there are 10 million without jobs. The reason for this much better treatment of its workers by the German government is, of course, not due to the larger generosity of German capitalists but to the fact that the German workers are much better organized than American workers. In Germany there is a labor movement and the workers know that they are workers and that their bosses are their enemies.

An Awakening

This at long last the American workers now seem to be learning, too. And this is the one hopeful thing developing out of this depression. On all sides there are signs of an awakening, of a growing realization by the workers that only by their own united efforts can they ever hope to remedy conditions. Demonstrations by the unemployed become larger and more frequent. The thousands of veterans, jobless and desperate, their services to the bankers and munitions makers forgotten, who camped on the steps of the White House for weeks hoping to get relief but instead got tear gas and bullets, will not soon forget. They have learned a very important lesson and will be heard from again. Other thousands of

jobless workers are organizing to help themselves by forcing relief from the authorities.

In the June issue of LABOR AGE Carl Brannin told about the Unemployed Citizens League of Seattle, Washington. This movement which was started last Fall with self-help and a public works program as its chief aim has now spread throughout the state. At a convention held during the last week in May, attended by 400 delegates representing more than 100,000 workers, it adopted as its state name, United Producers League of Washington. Although it is non-partisan, taking in all unemployed workers irrespective of political beliefs or affiliations, it has already become a political power in the state.

Similar movements are springing up all over the country. From Denver, Colorado comes a report that the unemployed in that city, "knowing that they can no longer depend on the 1932 emergency relief fund," have set out to help themselves by forming an organization and calling it the Unemployed Citizens League. The plan, says the report, is fashioned after the Seattle idea. In Allentown, Pennsylvania, 20 jobless men a few weeks ago, "formed the nucleus of an Unemployed Citizens' League." On July 12 the unemployed of Philadelphia, led by the hosiery workers, organized a march on the State capitol to demand more adequate relief from the state. Lem Strong, in an article in this issue of LABOR AGE, tells about the organization of the unemployed in Mahoning County, Ohio. In the July LABOR AGE Tom Tippett told about the march of the starving miners of W. Va. on their state capitol demanding and getting relief. From the CPLA branch in Paterson, N. J., comes the following report about what the unemployed silk workers of that town are doing:

Paterson Acts

"The CPLA has begun the Unemployed Citizens League movement with mass meetings. A 'community tour' was arranged for Carlo Tresca, leader of the 1913 general silk strike and for Louis F. Budenz, executive of the 1931 general silk strike. These open air mass meetings were carried on in various parts of the city, being followed up by other meetings at the same location addressed by additional speakers.

"After three meetings had been held,

*Industrial and Labor Information.

those who had indicated that they wished to join the League were called to indoor meetings and were formally organized. In this way three district leagues have already been developed and two others are in the process of formation.

"The district organizations formed by the CPLA began by making public demands for shorter hours, more efficiency in relief and the correction of abuses in public relief. Discrimination against aliens, the business of forcing unemployed to work for relief without pay, etc., were agitated against.

"On the long-hour question, the unemployed district leagues agreed to cooperate with the unions in picketing long-hour shops and mills, and in making a general attack on the abuses arising from long hours in the midst of colossal unemployment. Thus a strong local sentiment has been aroused against this method of making the depression worse.

"In individual cases where relief is not given or is given inadequately the district leagues hammer at the city authorities to get busy and do something effective. This is the plan that was worked out by the silk unions during the strike and is the basis on which the league is now proceeding."

In addition to these beginnings, the Paterson report tells about an interesting experiment being undertaken by Charles C. Webber of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Every year he goes into some industrial community and this year has chosen Paterson. Webber has begun his work in the Totowa section where he has set up a store through his district league. Relief is being handled on the Seattle plan. The unemployed members go out and get the food themselves. Entertainments are held at their headquarters as a means of rallying interest and getting support.

Although this Totowa experiment is being carried out with the consent of the CPLA branch in Paterson, the branch does not feel that relief is a matter to be handled by "self-help" agencies. The district leagues, formed by the CPLA, are proceeding on the theory that the responsibility for relief rests with the city, state and nation.

Another effective movement of the unemployed is that of the Chicago Workers Committee On Unemployment, which has 12,000 members, and is lining up politically with the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois. Its program includes: 1) immediate federal aid; 2) a public construction program "far in excess of anything thus far undertaken," 3) Compulsory Unemployment Insurance by every state through legislation and with Federal subsidy, 4)



(From *Locomotive Engineer's Journal*)

limitation of hours of labor with no corresponding reduction of pay because of such limitation.

"Helping" the Unemployed

In addition to these, many other attempts to "help" the unemployed are being made, some by the unemployed themselves, others by charitably inclined persons. A large number of these, as yet, are little more than tails to the kites of public relief agencies. Their self-help programs proceeding from the philosophy of charity and not of labor, many of these organizations merely serve to relieve the public authorities of embarrassment and do not help the workers in any fundamental way. Examples of this kind of movement are the innumerable gardening projects.

The farmers of the country are in almost as desperate plight as the workers. They cannot sell their food because the workers cannot buy it. Yet

these gardening projects take thousands of workers, totally without experience in farming, to the country to reclaim broken down farms on which to raise vegetables. The granaries of the country are overflowing and fruit and vegetables are rotting on the fields. The farmers who have produced this food for which there is no market need shoes, clothing of all kinds, furniture, etc. Would it not be much more sensible to compel the owners of factories to give their equipment to the workers to make the things the farmers need, to buy the food which they need? This is what the U.C.L. of Seattle means by self-help, and what it is succeeding in doing to some extent.

Another mistake being made by unemployed groups is working for less than the prevailing wage scale, thus reducing the standards of their fellow workers who have jobs. As pointed out in the "Program of the CPLA for

(Continued on page 29)

Smith Township Gets Going

THE Smith Township Council of the Unemployed has called a meeting for 7:30 at the Schoolhouse. At six o'clock the first men arrive. They sit around, smoke and talk. A few of the younger men start a baseball game. These people are hard up. Direct relief stopped a long time ago and every nine days they've been getting \$3.20 for eight hours' work for the county. A few of them come in rubber boots, others cheerfully wiggle a couple of toes through the front of dilapidated shoes. But they aren't down and out. They have an organization now.

The meeting begins on time and about 900 men fill the one large school room. Everybody is feeling good. This is great stuff, this business of getting together and winning things for themselves. What the politicians had been unwilling or unable to get for them they have secured by their organized strength.

V. C. Bauhof is chairman of the council. He speaks carefully and calmly in good clear English. It seems that there is a small detail to be attended to first. The school board, after promising to leave the lights on, had turned them off. Would Mr. King please go to the nearest phone and ask the Public Service Company to turn them on again.

"Well," Mr. King wants to know, "D'ya figure that'll do any good?"

"That," comes the quiet answer, "is what we'll do first." The crowd applauds, led by a big Negro whose hands come together like pistol shots. And sure enough, in half an hour the lights are on again. The school board and the Public Service Company have evidently decided that these boys aren't fooling.

Smith Township is in Mahoning County, Ohio. It has a lot of farm land in it, but some of the towns are primarily industrial. The town of Sebring, for instance, in which this organization is strongest at the present time, is a pottery and porcelain center.

The Unemployed Council was formed a short time ago when discrimination on county road work became so pronounced that about 30 men got two days work a week regularly, while 800 others got nothing. One day, a gang of them got tired of the unequal arrangement and decided to do something about it. They went down to the

by Lem Strong

ditch where the work was being done and demanded a fair distribution of the county jobs. The alarmed officials called in Sheriff Adam Stone to do the St. George stunt and slay this dragon of revolt. Adam hastened down with three machine guns and a number of tear gas bombs. But the crowd was disappointingly sober and law abiding. So quiet was the whole affair in fact, that the leaders of the Council say that Stone had to do his own law breaking. According to them, the sheriff cursed them and tried to provoke some act of violence. But it was no go and the authorities finally had to agree to let the unemployed handle the work lists that were used in dividing the jobs.

Now they have formed their organization. The Communists tried to get their oar in at the first meeting by proposing a joint demonstration with the Unemployed Councils of Youngstown in that city, the county seat of Mahoning County. Their representative was asked whether his organization was connected in any way with the Communist Party and he said no. Asked how many people the Youngstown councils could get out, he guaranteed them a turnout of 6,000. They agreed to cooperate on that basis, but—being canny folks—they sent down a committee to investigate. The committee reported that the whole thing was obviously phony and advised against doing anything further about it. The Communist organization, when they did have their demonstration brought out fewer than 100 men.

At first the organization devoted all its attention to expanding and stretching out the county and state work, and actually succeeded in getting 75 men on the roads every day instead of the 30 who had formerly worked two days a week. What's more, they kept the job going long after the date set for its conclusion. When this work did finally end, they sent a committee to see Governor White and got an advance bond of \$10,000 for relief, as well as the promise of more road jobs. They won for themselves, in short, all that the township and county politicians had assured them couldn't be had. The result has been to make the whole section organization conscious. A few weeks ago the unemployed of Goshen county had their work doubled just be-

cause a few of the men from that country approached the leaders of the Unemployed Council and asked for information.

Some weeks ago the work of the Seattle and Tacoma Unemployed Leagues as told in June LABOR AGE was called to their attention, and they have been energetically adjusting that experience to their local situation. Trucks have gone out and collected food from farmers for three local commissaries that have been established. They have secured the use of a couple of coal mines and a strip of wood land in the neighborhood for their winter fuel supply. They are considering the possibility of holding dances, starting sport activities and labor dramatics as a means of raising money and rallying support to their movement.

The leaders and members of the Smith Township Unemployed Council have a golden opportunity to make something really big come to life in this section of America. Not only are they situated in the midst of a number of small but important industrial cities, only twenty-five miles away lie the great steel towns with their thousands of unemployed men ready for something that will lift them out of their misery. If these folks in Smith Township will work together with other progressive and militant forces—as they seem to be very willing to do—much can be accomplished and won for American labor.

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL BUILDS STRONG FORCE

The People's Council of Whatcom County, Washington, is an example of what the unemployed and poor farmers together can do to build a strong movement without the aid of commissaries. This organization in the short space of a few months has built a membership of 5,000 and through aggressive tactics has compelled the county authorities to appropriate \$150,000 to provide work for the jobless. M. M. London and George Bradley are two of the most active leaders in this movement.

A Local Cleans House

by William L. Nunn

BY electing Charles A. Maddock, as president, the rank and file of Local No. 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union went a long distance in cleaning up a deplorable mess that had existed in the Local for almost twenty years. Along with Maddock, the insurgents were able to elect an entire slate of officers, 24 in number. Most of the officials of the old administration had dominated the affairs of the Local for two whole decades. The election of an honest, courageous, progressive leadership has thus in this instance, crystallized the indications of discontent and revolt that have long been evidenced in several of the larger of the unions in the New York vicinity, including, besides the Sheet Metal Workers Union, the Motion Picture Operators Union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union, and the Structural Iron Workers.

For years the officials in Local No. 28 reigned in the autocratic manner of a Czar, with the apparent sympathy of the officials of the International Association. During this time the officials generally ignored the wishes of the rank and file, made no accounting of funds, and ignored the Constitution and the by-laws of the union whenever it suited their fancy. What is truly indicative of their character, their walking delegates made themselves comfortable in Chrysler "80" sedans. With all the brazenness of the worst type of political organization, they developed a well oiled subservient machine by the use of extra-legal tactics, favored jobs for supporters, and bribery, calculated to sustain their own self-seeking plans. Now and again the officials did not bother to take even a vote, but proceeded to act without the slightest authority of the Constitution of the union or the membership.

During the latter part of the reign of the old guard, the membership at large was apathetic, lulled into contentment by a short-lived and false prosperity. The ensuing depression and its accompanying unemployment, however, soon brought dissatisfaction with the policies of their leaders. Virile opposition developed. The rank and file began to awaken to the fact that a crooked and incompetent set of officials was a luxury that they could ill afford. With over 60 per cent of the members of Local No. 28 unemployed, a cry for unemployment relief was raised.

The officials, taking their cue from the officers of the International Asso-

ciation, affected a deaf ear towards the destitute members of the Union. The International apparently took their cue from the American Federation of Labor, which in turn, had adopted Herbert Hoover's plutocratic antagonism to the "dole." Maddock's followers, moved by true union fraternalism, sought to solidify the dissatisfaction within the Local and succeeded to the extent of obtaining the almost unanimous support of the 2,800 members of Local No. 28. The membership demanded action. Soon they forced a special meeting which was held at Cooper Union in October, 1931. At the meeting the Local's officers, acting as the puppets of the International, faced with overwhelming opposition, suddenly declared that a unanimous vote would be necessary to carry a compulsory assessment for unemployment relief.

This typical ruling of the then-President Reul, was a direct violation of the provisions of the International and Local constitutions. Undoubtedly the controlling motive for this amazing affront to the constitution was the fact that the resolution proposed to tax the officers 30 per cent of their weekly salaries, which in the case of walking-riding delegates amounted to \$110 per week and "reasonable" expenses. At the meeting, this ruling led to much opposition from the membership, but nevertheless the officials abided by their illegal decision. Open warfare then broke out.

At the mandate of the majority of the members, Maddock and his group prepared to contest the forthcoming December elections. The old line officials had been re-elected in January, 1928, for a three-year term, after having been in office for some seventeen years, which should have expired in December, 1931. However, at the International convention at Toronto in 1930, the constitution was changed and consequently elections were provided to be held in all affiliated unions during the month of June. Shortly thereafter many of the 500 locals inquired as to the status of office terms which expired in December in any given year. The response of the International was that it was a question for the affiliated local unions to determine, and recommended that in all instances where terms of office expired in December that they either continue their officers in power until the subsequent

June or they could hold bye-elections for a six-month period.

In Local No. 28, the discontented membership under the leadership of Maddock, decided to hold their elections in December, and thus rid themselves as quickly as possible of the forces of reaction. Without a day's loss they moved in the manner provided by their laws for the nomination of officers and the holding of the election. The existing officers, fearing that they were to be ousted and desiring to hold on to their jobs, ruled that the proposed election was out of order and that they were entitled to continue in office until June, 1932.

But the local tyrants negotiated with the International Association to sustain them in their unreasonable step, and after much political chicanery, the International reversed its two decisions and issued its mandate to the effect that no election could be held that month. However, this action did not dampen the insurgents' determination to hold an election. At a subsequent meeting, they lawfully demanded such an election, but their motions were ignored by the officials who again walked out of the meeting. Whereupon the membership appointed a temporary chairman, the motion for nomination was approved, two slates were drawn, and the date of election decided upon. Within a few weeks each member of the Union received a threatening letter from the officials of the International, the gist of which was to the effect that any member who participated in the election would be ousted from the union. Notwithstanding this threat, the election was held. Much intimidation was resorted to at the polls by the incumbent officers. Some 450 members, however, dared face the antagonism of the entrenched regime.

By this election, Maddock and his progressive followers were voted into office. Thereupon the old guard simply refused to vacate office, they and the International taking the position that the election was illegal. Again the progressives were discouraged. Realizing that they had no redress to the International they resorted to the courts and sought an injunction against the interference with their right to occupy office.

Judge Levy, construing the provisions of the Constitution and the facts in a super-legalistic manner, ruled that under its terms, the International president was acting within his rights in intervening as he had and declaring

the election null and void. Shortly thereafter, a motion was made by the old officers to dismiss the complaint of Maddock, who was suing as president of Local No. 28. Mr. Justice Peter Schmuck denied this motion, and said that the plaintiff had established a good cause of action and that injunctive relief should have been granted. Here we witness the anomalous situation of one justice of the Supreme Court inferring that a colleague of his had made an erroneous ruling. Inspired by Justice Schmuck's decision, Maddock appealed to the Appellate Division. The old officers countered by moving to dismiss the appeal, but the Appellate Division disposed of this move by a determination based upon the merits, in which it held that the appeal should not be dismissed. The original issue as to the legality of the election will shortly be tested.

Despite these halting court rulings, the insurgents persevered in their fight to clean house of dishonest and inefficient leaders. These activities by Maddock and his courageous adherents resulted in charges being placed

against 67 of their number by the officials. The insurgents demanded trials and the six leaders of the opposition, Maddock, Friedman, Young, Connolly, Lyons, Mendelsohn and Nash, were tried before the very officials whom they accused. The decisions, however, were never handed down.

At about this time the now-frightened incumbents resorted to that last resort of guilty consciences, crying aloud "Communism," and even went so far as to charge several of the leaders of the revolt with being radicals and pressing this charge with the United States Department of Labor in Washington. Soon "Deportation Doak's" representatives appeared on the scene and after a thorough investigation of the native born American complexion of the progressives, elicited the knowledge that they had no flag-waving situation in Local No. 28, and thoroughly frightened, the agents of the Department of Labor beat a hasty retreat in the direction of Washington.

This extra-legal intervention of the Department of Labor, at the behest of

the International Association, and established American Federation of Labor, used frequently to break strikes and progressive movements in established American Federation of Labor unions, received the censure of the press and labor generally.

While Maddock and his followers were battling against the union discipline committees, the Department of Labor, and fighting in the courts, they were laying careful plans for the elections in June. In these elections the rank and file gave to Maddock and his group an overwhelming majority—8 votes for Maddock's group to one for the old officials. Thus a new deal for honest unionism has been secured in Local No. 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union.

Undoubtedly similarly situated insurgent groups fighting dishonest unionism in other labor organizations will profit much from a study of the recent history of Local No. 28, Sheet Metal Workers Union. Movements to aid the rank and file movements should take much encouragement from the notable victory of the progressives in the Sheet Metal Workers Union.

The Hosiery Workers Convention

by Edmund Ryan

FACING the most acute crisis in the history of the organization, the twenty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers opened its twelve-day session at Knitters' Hall.

As has been pointed out in previous articles in LABOR AGE, the hosiery workers, last fall, took a tremendous reduction in wages, in some cases actually going below the wage scale being paid in the non-union shops, in the belief that they could by this method make even the open-shoppers realize the value of recognizing the union. Thus, they thought, both parties, the union and the employers, could cooperate in "stabilizing" the industry.

Although both President Rieve and Secretary Smith in their reports defended the past policies of the union, and claimed that considering the circumstances it was the only possible policy that could have been adopted, the facts brought out by one delegate after another show that the union is in far worse condition than ever.

First of all, it was admitted that no single important open-shop had been induced to sign last year's agreement,

despite the advantages that were available to them through it. While the union has maintained its hold on the organized shops it has made no progress in the open-shop field.

Secondly, while the 30 to 45 per cent wage reduction of last year temporarily gave the union mills a competitive advantage over the open-shops, the latter have been steadily cutting wages ever since, so that today the union is in an even less advantageous position than last year. This was admirably brought out in the address of Dr. George W. Taylor, foremost authority on the industry, and at present Impartial Chairman, when he stated: "The present competitive situation in the industry is no better than it was a year ago."

Thirdly, while the administration could not or would not give any definite figures as to the number of manufacturers who are willing to renew the present agreement it was surmised by the delegates that a goodly number of the employers are looking for further reductions, and will fight rather than sign up.

From the start of the convention it was evident that there was a good deal of opposition from certain Districts and Locals to the administration and its policies. However, the weakness of the opposition lay in the fact that outside of the CPLA group, and the lone Communist delegate, it had no definite program to offer, but instead fluctuated from day to day.

CPLA Opposition

CPLA forces fought against renewing the present National labor agreement, urging that it was not satisfactory to the membership, and moreover, as not many employers were going along with it anyway, the policy for the union to adopt was to come out definitely for a shorter work-week with an increase in wages, and, if necessary, call a general strike throughout the entire industry to enforce these demands. They pointed out that as only 22 per cent of the industry is unionized, against an unorganized 78 per cent, the union could not for long hold what it has, could not even continue to make agreements unless it made inroads toward organizing the open-shops. It was further pointed out that every other method but a general strike had been tried and failed. So

that in the long run the union has nothing to lose by such an aggressive policy.

The administration, on the other hand, held that the best that could be hoped for was a renewal of the present agreement, and proposed that the present convention give full power to the National Executive Board, to act as it saw fit in the case of those shops which would refuse to sign, and which meant, in all probability, that individual shop strikes would result, something all progressives agreed was hopeless.

When after several days of intense discussion the vote on renewing the agreement was finally taken the results were: 44 in favor of renewal, and 37 against.

The next question confronting the delegates was what policies should be adopted in regard to those shops which would not sign up. Even some delegates who had voted for renewal felt that it would not be worth while unless the same amount of equipment could be secured for another year. Besides, it is a well known fact that several employers intend to fight under any circumstances on the expiration date of September 1. A motion was then passed, 54 to 28, that in the event 100 per cent of the present equipment now signed up is not secured for the renewal of the agreement, that a general strike be declared of both union and non-union mills on September 1.

A General Strike

The administration forces had fought hard against a general strike motion and even after it was adopted they continued their attacks, so that the following day they succeeded in getting the motion rescinded by a vote of 49 to 34. They then proposed that full power to act as they saw fit be given to the National Executive Board and the Negotiating Committee. This was turned down by the convention.

After the rescinding of the general strike motion the convention waited in vain for some sort of a policy to be proposed. It soon became evident that while the administration was against the convention settling a policy to be pursued, that its own program was one of weakness, doubt, and uncertainty.

Therefore it was no very great surprise when the delegates by a smashing vote of 55 to 27 reiterated their stand on a general strike. Immediately following this a motion was passed that in the event of a strike, we demand a 15 per cent increase in wages, so as to have something to appeal to those workers in open-shops to come out for also.

Recognizing that this policy inevitably meant a strike on September 1,

committees were appointed which brought back recommendations for a whirlwind organizing campaign to be made by each local in conjunction with the general office immediately upon adjournment in order to bring about an effective national strike.

As this policy, however, must first be accepted by a referendum vote, which is now being taken throughout the country, nothing can be done at present except to begin general preparations. Progressives and left-wingers in the union have no other choice than to fight for the adoption of the policy that the convention has laid down. For the alternative means that full power will be given to the officials and the National Executive Board to do as they see fit.

The disorganized state of the opposition was shown in the election of officers, and in the final business of the convention, when President Emil Rieve was re-elected without opposition. Secretary-treasurer, William Smith, was re-elected with 50 votes against 29 for the writer. John Banachowicz of Milwaukee, a prominent member of the Socialist Party, and one of the pillars of the administration, was elected first vice-president by acclamation. Fred Held was elected second vice-president over Henry Adams, an administration supporter, by a vote of 45 to 35. The administration was victorious in the elections to the new National Executive Board and remained in full control although several promising new members were mentioned.

The Socialist Delegates

It might be interesting at this point to sum up the position of those delegates who are members of the Socialist Party, since that party claims to be "clarifying" its position on the trade union field.

Their vote was one of extreme reaction all through the convention, particularly the eleven solid Socialist votes of the Milwaukee delegation. They voted in favor of renewing the present agreement, voted against the general strike, voted against going out for a 15 per cent increase in the event of a general strike, and at the elections voted solidly with the administration. In the case of the Smith-Ryan contest, the 11 votes of the Milwaukee delegation proved just enough to turn the scales in favor of Smith. President Rieve, an S. P. member, led a fight against a resolution to renew a scholarship to Brookwood Labor College, and succeeded in having it defeated. Most of the S. P. members fought and voted against a resolution in favor of a labor party. The Communists, represented by a lone delegate, of necessity played

an unimportant part throughout, being compelled in most cases to go along with the rest of the opposition.

On Resolutions

In the matter of resolutions the convention as a whole adopted a progressive attitude.

It went on record for a labor party, for a one-day general strike to secure the freedom of Mooney and Billings, for the defense of the Harlan miners, for recognition of the Soviet Union, for the defense of the Scottsboro boys, and endorsed Thomas and Maurer.

A resolution opening the columns of the *Hosiery Worker* for the membership to use in expressing their views and their conditions in the trade and policies of the union, was also passed. This was a distinct victory for CPLA forces, as we had been trying to have this done for several months, and as a last resort brought it to the convention. The administration, apparently realizing the weakness of its position, quit without a fight, and the resolution went through without a murmur. They managed, however, to defeat a resolution limiting the salaries of officials to a maximum of \$40 per week. The convention also restored the direct referendum to the membership.

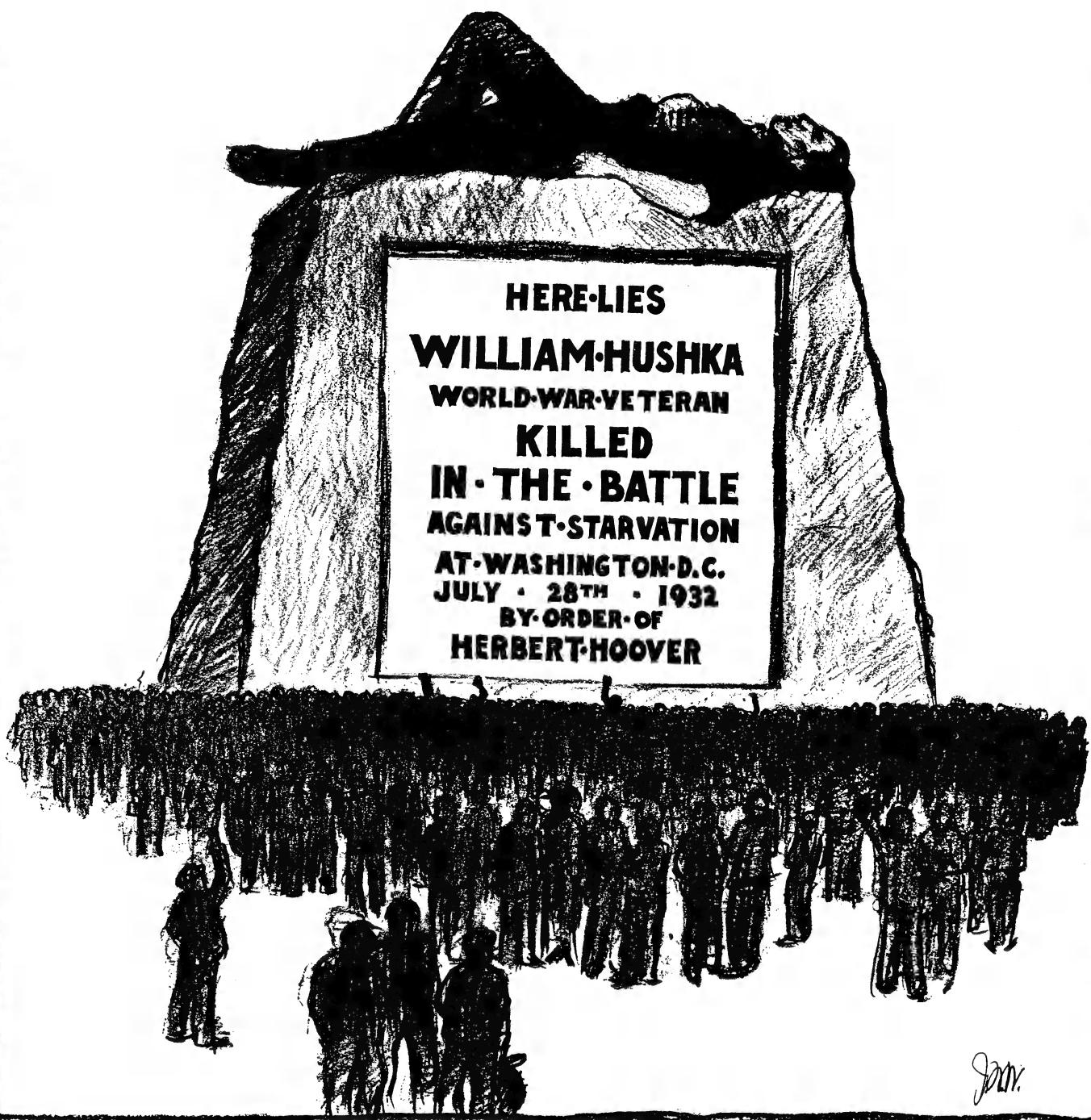
The task of building a militant left-wing in the union still remains the most important job of the CPLA forces, in order that the program adopted by the convention is carried out to the limit and in the most effective way.

Are
You
That
One

In every city and town in these United States, in every shop, mill and mine, there is at least one who is not satisfied with being merely a passive reader; one who wants to be a doer. Perhaps that one is yourself.

LABOR AGE is anxious to establish contacts with active militants throughout the United States to distribute our paper to newsdealers, to solicit subscriptions and to conduct systematic sales before factory gates.

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We Shall Not Forget

Conventions, Platforms and Political Power

by A. J. Muste

THE two old parties held their conventions in Chicago. Nearly a fourth of the inhabitants of that city were on the relief lists, more were being added daily, while available funds were being swiftly exhausted. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed were walking the streets of the city. The best comment on what these two old parties have to offer the workers is that under these circumstances neither one had anything serious to say on unemployment relief.

No real excitement occurred at the Republican convention, save when the question of beer was up, on which a fine straddle plank was adopted which enables Hoover to pose as a wet before wets and a dry before the dries.

The Democratic convention was a little more exciting and colorful. It worked itself into a fine frenzy several times over the same beer issue. There was some feeling over the Al Smith-Frankie Roosevelt fight for the presidential candidacy. Let no one imagine for a moment, however, that the Democratic convention for all its show of spontaneity, was any less firmly controlled on all major issues by banking and industrial interests than the Republican. And let us emphasize also that the same would have held good if the Democratic party had nominated Smith. That gentleman may once have had some slight claim to the title "friend of labor," but in recent years he has completely sold out to the bankers on whom he has to depend to keep his Empire State Building from being thrown publicly into receivership. He based his fight on Roosevelt mainly on the issue that the latter in talking about "the forgotten man" was arousing class-prejudice and neglecting the fundamental "truth" that no worker could prosper until his employer was prosperous and able to give him work. Really, Al, this was too raw for a reincarnation of Andrew Jackson, as your nominator at Chicago, Governor Ely of Massachusetts, tried to make you out!

Democrats for Dawes

Neither convention was ever for a single moment stirred about the suffering masses of Chicago and the nation or about fundamental economic problems.

To this statement perhaps one exception should be recorded. While the Democratic convention was on, Charlie Dawes' bank was tottering on the brink of bankruptcy and there were "runs" on all the big downtown banks, though you could not have learned that from the newspapers. The Democrats uttered no audible protest when Dawes resigned from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, took up the active presidency of his bank, and then received 85 million dollars from the R. F. C. to save his skin and his money. The Democrats are as strong for saving the banks as the G. O. P.

The platforms of the two old parties give renewed evidence, if any were needed, of the fact that they offer the worker and farmer a choice between Tweedledee and Tweedledum. The Republicans are for cutting governmental expenditures, i.e., cutting wages of government employes, lowering school budgets, etc.—so are the Democrats.

The Republicans are "pledged" to encourage farm-cooperatives, so are the Democrats. No mention by either one of a fundamental revision of the banking system, which would give cooperatives a real show.

The Republicans are for tariff revision under the proper conditions, the Democrats are for "a competitive tariff for revenue"—whatever that may be.

Bonus for Veterans?

The Republicans want to study veteran's legislation, the Democrats favor "justice and generosity for all war veterans." Take your choice, veterans who were forced to go to war at Wall Street's behest, and buy some food with study and justice and generosity, instead of a bonus payment.

Both parties are in favor of peace—plus national defense, an adequate navy—second to none. But it is really useless to go on.

The worker who can vote for Herbert Hoover and the Republican party after the experience of the past three years, can do so only as a result of utter ignorance, or because he is terrorized into it by bosses and landlords, as many undoubtedly will be. The workers and farmers who vote for Franklin Roosevelt will vote for a person who is somewhat more human than the Great Engineer, but who is as safe in the estimation of the bankers as Herbert himself, who has had to trim

and sell himself in order to get the nomination which was in banker control, and who stands on a platform which embraces no fundamental measures in the interest of the workers, at least none about which anything will be done by the Democratic Party. The fact that Roosevelt puts up a plausible show of interest in the masses and that his platform contains gestures about unemployment relief, old age pensions, etc., makes him all the more dangerous.

At this writing it appears that a good many workers and farmers may vote for Roosevelt as a relief from Hooverism; even some of the prominent leaders of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party may be included in that number. They certainly ought to know better! It remains to be seen, however, whether the boys who control the nation's purse strings will decide that it will be better to let "the people" think they are getting a new deal with Roosevelt, or will between now and November lay down a barrage of propaganda behind which Hoover may again slink into office.

As I have travelled throughout the east, middle west and south during the past month, I have found much evidence of a growing feeling of dissatisfaction among workers and farmers with the old parties and a wish to vote for something else. If the various elements interested in independent political action—progressive unions, farm organizations, the Socialist party, various labor and farmer-labor parties—had gotten together some months ago and were now able to go to the country with a united front, a very substantial vote might be rolled up, and with proper care organized for permanent action in the future. But this was not done and the result is that on the political field labor is almost as helpless to cope with the situation and as little able to crystallize and voice the protest of the masses as on the economic field. This is not to say that the intentions of some of the minority parties in the field are not good and their platforms in many respects excellent. The point is that we have not to deal with platforms and intentions, but with the mechanics of achieving political power. This problem existing parties have not met, and hence it is idle to suppose that the old parties are the least bit frightened by them. Hence also the N. E. C. of the C. P. L. A. has taken a position which is realistic and fundamentally honest with the workers in stating frankly in a pronouncement

elsewhere in this issue of Labor Age that no clear, simple, ideal, or near-ideal alternative to the old parties is presented to the American masses in the present election. Those who contend that that position is a weak one, as doubtless many will, put their finger on the wrong spot. It is our working-class political situation in America that is weak, because on the one hand our masses are still bound to the tradition of rugged individualism, though many now recognize that it has become pretty ragged, and because on the other hand we have not organized what political forces we have in the most effective manner.

An analysis of the existing situation bears out this contention that our forces are not so organized as to make the maximum possible appeal to American workers. The Communists will gain some votes, particularly in certain types of industrial communities such as Detroit and perhaps among Negroes. There is not a particle of evidence that their vote will be an appreciable percentage of the total.

The Socialists will gain votes, how many remains a question. Again, however, an analysis shows that the percentage of the total vote cannot be large unless we are about to behold a miracle. The people who are turning to the S. P. candidates at present are intellectuals and professional people. There is no evidence, save in a few cities, that the trade unionists in a body will turn to them or the unorganized manual workers or the clerical workers, or even a majority of professional people. There is no evidence of any large-scale movement of farmers toward the Socialist candidates. Even if the depression grows rapidly worse and suffering intensifies and spreads, between now and election, the reaction is much more likely to express itself in strikes, demonstrations and riots than at the ballot box. And of course if things get fundamentally serious, the powers that be will resort to Fascist measures to prevent expression of revolt at the ballot box or elsewhere.

The plain fact is that a united mass party of the working-class might have presented a serious challenge to Hoover and Roosevelt. Such a challenge does not now exist.

We must continue even now to exert every effort to fashion an effective political weapon for the working-class of this country. To concentrate on that job, to hammer home that point, is more important than rolling up votes in a single election.

Vote Yourself Out of the Old Parties

Nevertheless, the utmost use must be made of the elections this fall. Workers and all who do not want to see reaction triumph, or a muddled, fake progressivism which is even more dangerous than reactionism in such a crisis as we are now experiencing, must vote against the capitalist parties and for some party which is making for greater social control, is forswearing "ragged individualism," is appealing to the interests of the masses of the people, however inadequately or mistakenly, as against those which aim first of all to make the bankers, the industrialists and the landowners secure.

Certain parties in greater or less degree meet these specifications, Independent Labor Parties, here and there, Farmer-Labor parties as in Minnesota and Illinois, the Socialist Party, the Communist and the Socialist Labor Party. Capitalists will not be pleased with a vote cast for any such groups.

There are other minority groups of which this cannot be said, such as Coin Harvey's venture, the Liberty Party, with which Father Cox has expected an alliance, so that in some states the party is known by the name Jobless-

Liberty (no doubt Liberty is among the jobless in this country and seems in fact to have joined the ranks of the permanently unemployed). Coin Harvey is a cheap-money fanatic of a type which has often captivated the imaginations of American farmers and always led them up a blind alley. Father Cox's movement once seemed a promising though confused movement of the unemployed, but it becomes more and more a movement of Father Cox rather than of the unemployed, less and less promising, more and more confused. When he allies himself with Coin Harvey, people are bound to conclude that he is either not straightforward or else hopelessly unrealistic. A vote cast for such groups as these will not in the least disturb the capitalists, even though the voter intends that it should, because history has repeatedly shown that workers who vote for such groups always find their way back into the old parties.

And that must be the test in the coming election. Vote in such a way that it will be clear that you are moving permanently out of the Republican and Democratic parties and into a movement which will one day destroy those parties and the predatory interests for which they stand!

Youth Group Active In New York City

Reflecting the conviction of CPLA that the main task at present is on the industrial field, young workers in N. Y., members of the Youth Group of CPLA, have been increasingly active during the past month in a number of industrial situations. Rank and File groups in a number of existing unions, including the Painters, Electrical Workers, and Milliners, have received help from our comrades, who have also participated in the steadily growing work of the Brotherhood of Edison Employees. We have also played a part in the formation of the Unemployed Citizens League of Paterson, where we are cooperating with the Paterson Silk Workers Branch of the CPLA as well as the Associated Silk Workers Local. Our members are taking an active interest in the organization of the Association of Unemployed College Alumni in New York, whose purpose is to interest unemployed college alumni in work in their own behalf, as

well as to unite them with the other unemployed workers, and to draw them into the general labor movement. Subway collections have resulted in the sending of some fifty dollars to aid the West Va. Mine Workers Union, and a few dollars have also been raised to help the Unemployed Citizens League of Paterson. At present plans are being worked out for a joint tag day by a number of young workers organizations in order to get a really substantial sum for the important work being carried on in West Va.

Finally our militants did their share to make our Picnic at Brookwood a success; our class in the Fundamentals of Socialism is growing; a number of comrades are leaving for Pennsylvania with the Brookwood Chautauqua as this is being written, and their attempt to bring Workers' Education to seven textile centers will be reported on next month; and last, but not least, we are gaining new members.

LAWRENCE COHEN.

The New Problem of the Farmer

IT is an easy matter to write about the plight of the farmer; but I am sorry to report that as yet he is not in a rebellious mood. He is resentful and bewildered, but yet full of bogyism and individualism.

It is somewhat hard to segregate the farm problem from the great national problem, in-as-much as agriculture is so deeply rooted into the whole economic structure. Some economists hold out the importance of restoring the buying power of the farmer, claiming that this must be done before we can again get onto the road to returning prosperity. There is nothing wrong with the contention; but it does not take an economist to know that we must have such equality in the distribution of the national income as would provide buying power for the farmer; —for what class uses a wider range of things than the farm class? And all the many things used by the farm class are made by factory workers, which makes it impossible to think in terms of prosperity for the farmer when such prosperity would not be handed on to the city worker. When we view the farm problem in a critical light we are forced to conclude that it is a major social problem, affecting all society; and when we look about for a solution we cannot conclude differently than that there is no solution except by, and through, mass organization of farmer and worker combined. In fact their problem — unemployment and low prices for farm products—is a common problem. It must be said to the credit of the leaders of the National Farmers' Union that they offered as part of their programme, at their convention last fall, closer co-operation with organized labor, suggesting the value of a reciprocating recognition of co-op and union labels.

Collapse of Middle Class

We witness today the collapse of the middle class. The small, independent store keeper and banker is being crowded out of business by the mail order house, chain store and chain bank. The independent existence of the farmer is threatened by the corporation or industrial farm, wherein he would be reduced to a wage slave. But perhaps "reduced" is the wrong word — perhaps "raised" to the status of a wage slave would be a better word. However the case may be, the position of the farmer, as a member of the middle class, is threatened with extinction. If he is allowed to stay on the land as

by C. Hall

an independent farmer, his buying power, in most cases, will be less than that of the wage earner. It is well to bear in mind in this connection that the stability of capitalism rests in the restoration of the buying power of the farmer—and it is problematic to remember that the buying power of the farmer cannot be restored when he must sell his crops for less than the cost of producing them, and that he must pay the pitiful sum he does receive for interest on mortgages and for taxes.

As for my own view of the matter, I am not alarmed about the farmer being dispossessed of his land, and the industrial farm being set up. It is true that the industrial farm could be made more efficient in the better farming sections, where one-crop methods are followed; but in the poorer sections, where diversified farming is pursued, prospects for the industrial farm are not so bright.

There are two factors that tend to discourage the industrial farm movement at the present time: (1) a condition of world surpluses in farm products, forcing prices below the cost of production; (2) and the power of money lenders who hold mortgages on farm lands. In the first case, it is doubtful that investors would trust their money in a failing business; while in the second case, if the interest is being paid on the loans a profit is thereby shown; but should the holder of the loan demand payment, which could not be made, and foreclose his mortgage with a view to establishing an industrial farm, he is faced with the probability that the farm would show no profit. In the latter case we see that one combination of wealth, the money lenders, would stand opposed to another combination of wealth, the investing capitalist; for if industrial farms are established to any great extent, they must go into competition with the individual farmer, and that would have a tendency to impair his ability to pay interest and taxes, which would be detrimental to the business of the money lender.

Inflation

No treatment of the farm problem is quite complete if the matter of inflated money values, with relation to farm product values, is not taken into consideration; for it constitutes the

most sinister aspect of the whole problem. It must be remembered, too, that inflation of the currency, which could be done by an act of Congress, would largely solve this part of the farm problem; as it is more affectatious in character than machine production or social acquisitive tendencies.

For the sake of charity, let us presume that I own a farm that five years ago was valued at \$10,000.00. At that time I placed a loan on the farm for half its value, \$5,000.00. At that time the wheat I produced was selling at \$1.50 per bushel, corn at \$1.00 per bushel, beef cattle at \$.15, hogs at \$.10, butter fat at \$.40, eggs at \$.30 per dozen, etc.

Now at the time I borrowed the money I got the equivalent of 5,000 bushels of corn. That is all the corn that the money lender could have bought with the money I got. If that is all I got that is all I owe him; but I must pay him more. With corn at \$.25 cents per bushel, I must pay him 20,000 bushels. Thus by a single stroke of money manipulation I am robbed of all my collateral; for my land value shrinks with its productive power—not its power to produce a given volume of grain or meats, but a dollar volume. And if the value of the land has shrunk in proportion to the shrinkage of dollar value the farm will produce, then I have no equity in the land, I am broke. Moreover, if at the time I effected the loan I paid my taxes with 100 bushels of corn, I now pay 400 bushels. My interest has climbed from 400 bushels of corn to 1,600 bushels.

Individualism Fails

The farmer realizes that he is "framed." Individualism, the God he has so long worshipped, has failed him. In times gone by, when "depression" descended upon the homestead, the farmer rolled his sleeves a little higher, moved back the hands of his clock, smiled grimly, and took to his fields to plant extra acres. He bade his wife sow more patches on his pants, and sold more from the family table; and he prided himself that economy and industry offered a solution to his problem. It was thus that he developed "individualism" to a greater extent than any other class of citizen.

Today, however, social evolution has moved ahead. Wealth has concentrated in a degree that has wrought havoc with all old methods. The farmer finds himself in a different world, in a world where his individualism fails

Political Power Is Strongest Weapon Of Washington Producers

(Editorial in *The Vanguard, Seattle Washington*)

THOUSANDS of people all over the country are watching Seattle and Washington. They believe that we are carrying out a unique experiment in unemployment relief which is worth trying elsewhere. Some have the idea that we have found the key to a new utopia in which there will be no such thing as money and where industrial plants, voluntarily turned over to the unemployed by capitalists, will function for the benefit of the workers alone.

This is a distorted picture of the present operations of the unemployed league in the various cities of the state and of their potentialities.

The organized unemployed are doing the best they can to help themselves in wood cutting, fruit canning, shoe repairing, etc., as a measure of independent relief. They are willing to do these things because they would rather work for themselves than be idle. In order to do them properly they must have some financial assistance, either from public sources or from private individuals. This has been forthcoming to some extent in Seattle but many readers have failed to note this point. All of this, however, leaves the prob-

him. Industry and economy no longer serve to solve his problems. If he plants more acres, it only means that he will receive less per pound or per bushel. He has never been a social thinker—always an individualist; but when his bins are bursting with grain that has little value, whilst ten million beg for bread, he is beginning to ask himself some simple and fundamental questions. He is a sleeping giant that stirs in his sleep—and the structure of Capitalism is more tottery because of it than ever before in its existence. The acquisitive system has acquired itself into poverty.

Since the birth of this nation, the farmer has been the backbone, the stronghold, of American civilization. This one hundred and fifty years has been a beautiful era, filled with individualism and opportunism; and the memory of it is dear in the hearts of the farm class. Its passing brings panic and misunderstanding to hundreds and thousands of the farm, and they are alarmed and bewildered as though an earthquake had rent the earth under their feet—but they are groping for understanding, for rescue.

The past twelve years, that marks the most troublesome and difficult

lem of housing, light, water and clothing and an adequate food supply entirely unanswered.

To think that because the capitalist system of production and distribution has broken down, with many plants idle, the owners are going to permit the jobless to operate them on a scale sufficient to satisfy their wants, is flying in the face of all history and the never-to-be-forgotten struggles between those who own for a living and those whose only asset is their labor. History clearly shows that the capitalists as a class, never give up their property unless they are forced to do so by a superior power.

The workers when employed, with their economic power organized, have forced concessions in wages and conditions from employers by refusing to work (the strike).

Now with millions out of jobs this economic power is non-existent. But these millions still have power which can be organized and expressed on the political and legislative field. This is

period known to the farm class, has not found the farmer entirely asleep and idle. Co-operative marketing associations, controlling millions of dollars of marketing equipment have been brought into existence, many of which have repaid the farmers millions of dollars; but they are insufficient for his present needs.

Many of the farm leaders who sponsored these movements have turned to politics, sponsoring tax reductions, etc. As the futility of these different programmes is demonstrated from time to time, new leaders will be chosen, offering new programmes, till finally the futility of middle class idealism shall have been fully demonstrated, and a new and militant farm class will speak.

In the meantime, the temper of the farm class is being aggravated and cultivated. There is whispering, now, in many places. From the rank and file of the farmers comes noise to the effect that they need movements to resist foreclosures of mortgages, sales of land for taxes and interest, and a moratorium on the farm debt. If the "depression" pinches tighter in the next few months, and what right have we to expect it won't, there will be news from the "cross-roads."

the major field of activity. Unemployed and employed can function together here for progress.

The intelligent unemployed are not interested in employing themselves indefinitely on a basis of peonage for the bare necessities of life. They are willing to help themselves as a temporary relief measure, but they look to Federal, State, County and City governments to make adequate appropriations for work or direct food relief. Some look further to a new social system in which the power of the capitalist to exploit will be abolished and industry will be owned by the producers and operated for service and not profit.

To secure this, a fighting organization is required. It may engage in some forms of industrial activity but it will consider it's chief function to be the development of a militant, class conscious sentiment among its members. Such an organization will have no use for old line politicians with their vague promises and traitorous performance. It will work to build united political power with groups going in the same direction for the purpose of choosing its own candidates and putting them into office to serve the producing elements in society. Too long the bankers and profiteering elements have had their way, the people must take control.

Here is where the producers of Washington can make an experiment which will indeed turn the eyes of the whole nation in this direction.

Harlem Unemployed Organize

Unemployment and privation are chronic conditions in Harlem's Black Belt. The third year of the present economic depression has aggravated the problem to a marked degree. While relief agencies use the suffering of the Negroes to dramatize their appeals for help, Harlem is almost completely overlooked when it comes to the distribution of relief. Discriminated against in so-called "normal" periods, the Negro finds himself doubly harassed in the present period of stress. Relief agencies consistently pass the buck. Applications for jobs are ignored. Municipal, state and federal agencies have no ear for the sufferings of the Negroes. Balked at every turn, the unemployed Negroes of Harlem have turned to themselves for help. They have organized the Unemployed Citizens League of Harlem.

The Ford Unemployment Policy

BEFORE the 1926 dislocation of its market, unemployment offered no cause for anxiety to the Ford Motor Company. Its conspicuous success in expanding production, employment, and profits had induced a spirit of optimism and self-assurance. The Company pointed out that, "the fear of unemployment which haunts many a man to the detriment of his efficiency has been practically eliminated in the Ford industries." Mr. Ford himself emphasized ideals of stabilization and steady work, and pointed to the fact that the Ford Motor Company was the first to meet this problem in the automobile industry. Its success in the steadyng of employment and wages was illustrated by experience in sundry lands in Europe and America. "A business that does not include a steady and profitable wage scale among the good things it produces is not a productive business," Mr. Ford asserted, and proceeded further to assure us, that we need never have slumps and unemployment, provided only prices are lowered and wages increased.

Data on unemployment of Ford workers from 1925 to 1931 are the best comment on these asseverations. On November 1, 1925, there were 122,125 employed at the mammoth Rouge and Highland Park plants. A year later, the employment record showed a decline of 33,102 from this total, in the first half of 1927, employment at these two plants averaged only 75,000, aside from the fact that most men worked only two, three, or four days a week. By September, the payrolls had declined some 62,000 below the 1925 figure. In December, 1927, when model "A" was put on the market, the two plants employed approximately 70,000, but by March, 1929, the number had again mounted to 122,680, and with the Lincoln plant, located in the City of Detroit, to a peak of 128,142. By the middle of December, Ford employment in the Detroit district had tumbled to 100,500. In April, 1931, the record for Rouge and Highland Park was 84,000, with 50 per cent of the force working three days a week. In August, activity in the Detroit area dwindled down to assembly operations with employment at around 37,000, a drop of 91,000 from the record of March, 1929.

It is plain that the Ford recourse to the five-day week in the face of this situation has not served as a solution

From an address, by Samuel M. Levine, delivered at the twenty-fifth annual meeting, American Association for Labor Legislation, and published in the American Labor Legislation Review., June, 1932.

or even as an ameliorative agency. That the short week was not unrelated to the employment problem is shown by the fact that in 1922, when first announced by the Ford Motor Company, it was represented as a means of furnishing work to three thousand more men. Again among the reasons for its reintroduction in September, 1926, was Ford's view that a shorter week was necessary to enable the country to absorb its greatly increased production. On the other hand, Mr. Ford has assured us somewhat paradoxically that with the same number of men under the five-day plan as previously employed on a six-day basis, a six-day volume of production was being maintained. In point of fact, it is his view that the task of management could be set to get more done in five days than originally in six.

From the standpoint of wages, the Ford conception of the five-day week as outlined in 1926, was that of a system which should make it possible for workers to earn six days' pay for five days of work. This was an important distinction between the five-day program of 1926 and that of 1922. It was the company's intention, however, to make new increases in wages dependent on increased work. The increases ranged as a rule from 40 cents to \$1.20 a day. For those receiving less than \$1.20, the new system even with full five-day employment meant a reduction. The \$7 wage which came in December, 1929, might have improved the situation markedly under conditions of stable employment. Its healing effects in the midst of the crumbling markets of 1929-1931 were unnoticeable. Moreover, this unique wage is now a matter of history.

Though announced as a permanent policy in 1922, it was soon apparent that one of the properties of the five-day system as administered by the Ford Motor Company was its flexibility. "Whenever a department was especially rushed it went back to six days," is Mr. Ford's own description of its operation in the earlier period. Thus, indeed, it has continued to

operate. It has not proved invulnerable to the temptation of increasing business. Of the 100 selected standard Ford families studied in 1930 by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics at the request of the International Labor Office, 18 heads of families worked, in 1929, more than the maximum time of 260 days. Many men, particularly in the tool room and experimental department, have worked irregularly on the six-day basis from 1927 to the present time. A seven-day week is not unknown at the Ford plants when there is important work to be completed in a hurry. In the light of such a combination of factors, it would be credulous to expect the Ford administration of this device to contribute materially to the solution of the unemployment problem.

What has been the Ford reaction to the failure of his industries to provide security to thousands of his employees? In the main it is a reversal of his oft-repeated economic gospel. The new position is expressed in the following words: "The purpose of industry is to produce goods that serve people. It is no part of the purpose of industry to support people, and if we start into industry from the angle of making it support a certain number of wage earners, then we destroy the purpose of industry and therefore make it incapable of supporting people." As against the traditional regard for stabilization, we are now told that stabilization, we are now told that stabilization would result in stagnation. People must cease thinking of employment, for "It is not employment or unemployment that matters. It is work that is of consequence. . . . The work is always there, but what men wait for is employment."

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Revolt At High Point

(Continued from page 6)

around the city having a gay time. There was talk of entering bakery and food stores, but nothing came of it. The authorities had advised business places and stores in the down-town section to close. State troopers were arriving in considerable numbers. Plain clothesmen had caused the arrest of a number of young fellows—"hoodlums," they were said to be—who had been especially active in closing down mills. The crowds were exhausted from excitement, and went to bed.

Here was a general strike in a conservative Southern city. Beyond doubt it was unpremeditated. There is no unionism in the town. No Communists had been active. Furthermore, the move was carried out by workers who consider themselves patriotic Americans, who are violently anti-red, who have been taught to regard strangers with suspicion, and have no labor philosophy.

They have been cleverly taught to think that it was because of the presence of "outside agitators" that shooting occurred at Marion and Gastonia in 1929. Thus it was they who called the police to arrest Beulah Carter, a Durham hosiery worker sent into High Point to investigate by the Hosiery Workers Union. They would have run her out of town the next morning had not Lawrence Hogan, local leader of the Marion strike, well known and liked by the workers, discovered that she was the one whom they were describing as a "red" who had come into town in a New York car.

The city authorities have so far handled the situation cleverly. They have used no "rough stuff." They have built up a suspicion of any "outsider" who might advise the strikers who are utterly inexperienced. Although these same authorities state they would welcome an American Federation of Labor Union, they have driven a wedge between the hosiery workers and the other trades and the unemployed, so that the hosiery workers themselves urged the others to go back to work after the first day, which practically all of them did. The leader of the hosiery strikers of whom there are now 5,000 has issued statements denouncing "hoodlumism," pledging maintenance of "law and order," stating that they have had no advice and leadership from outside and desire none.

Privately he states that he realizes the need for organization, but that the time to talk about that will be when this strike is settled and they are back in the mills.

The employers, or at least most of

them, have offered to rescind the recent wage cut provided the workers agree to a survey of wages paid elsewhere in North Carolina and a cut if the differential is proved unfavorable for High Point's competitive position. The workers answer that they know when their wages are not enough to buy food with, without surveying other towns, and demand that the wage scale of April first be restored, the recent cut being the second since that date.

Thus for the moment the situation is "under control." City authorities are trying hard to keep their heads and so keep things quiet, among other things because they are looking to the New York banks for financial aid and had but recently assured said banks that High Point was immune from labor troubles.

If, however, the hosiery strike is dragged out, if nothing effective is done for the unemployed, the masses who rose so suddenly and were as suddenly quieted, will rise again. The next time they will not be so utterly without leadership and organization. And if the first time they could twice shut off all power and light and thus by direct action challenge the Duke power interests, what may they not do the next time?

A Rich Boy Kills Himself

(From Crawford's Weekly, Norton, Virginia)

WHILE millions are destitute, sleeping in parks or dying of the disease of starvation, Smith Reynolds, 20-year-old heir of the Camel fortune, was so surrounded with this world's goods that he became bored, and became so bored that he killed himself.

Here, indeed, we have a study in extremes—millions so poor that they die, a few so rich that they die. The Reynolds suicide was just one of many recent suicides among the immensely rich. No "civilization" can endure long where such extremes exist.

In the stifling tropical heat of mid-summer in the "Black Belt" thousands of Negro and white workers sweat to make Camel cigarettes in the huge plant of the Reynolds Tobacco factory. Their pay is as low as ten cents an hour; their average wages are \$9 a week.

The speed-up is heart-breaking. One man now does the work that recently was done by six machine-operators and their six girl helpers. A widespread spying system helps the Reynolds to keep their wage-slaves in subjection.

The Miners' Strike In Illinois

(Continued from page 7)

do about a certain agreement. John H. Walker comes under this class also. He sent several circular letters and one lengthy telegram to the locals trying to make up the miners' minds. In one of the letters he puts out such wisdom as this: "If the Illinois miners accept the reduction it will give an incentive to Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania to fight for a higher wage scale." The night before the vote, Walker talked over station KMOK, trying to hypnotize the miners. He even worked harmoniously with his arch enemy J. L. Lewis to put the reduction over, and worst of all he omitted from the document that was submitted to the locals to vote on, that part which would have permitted the operators to operate 12 hours a day.

Immediately after it became known that the tentative agreement referendum was lost, the miners' and operators' scale committees reassembled. Each side appointed one man to act as a committee to make another agreement. We drew Walker, the operators appointed Buchanan who besides, in Illinois, controls vast coal interests in West Virginia, if not in other regions. John L. Lewis is also acting with this committee. *Ora pro nobis.*

The U. M. W. A. has degenerated into an instrument of the coal operators. The corrupt condition it is in is the result of union-employer cooperation. When the power in a union gets away from the rank and file and into the clutches of the officials, the officials no longer feel that their interest lies with the workers. Having autocratic power in the union and their high salaries assured by the check-off, they fear not the membership. The employers are then the only potential hindrance to the perpetuation of their favored position, and naturally the officials follow the line of least resistance. Their philosophy then becomes cooperation between *Labor and Capital* which translated into English means *submission of Labor to Capital*.

Cooperation between Labor and Capital is a downy couch for union officials to sleep on. For the workers it is a bed of thorns and thistles on which they cannot sleep much longer. The miners simply can't afford to keep a cow that gives no milk. Only fond memories kept us from sending her to the knacker — but necessity compels. Our officials next victory will cost them their army.

Success At Lausanne

THE world is gladdened by the success of the Lausanne Conference. The European Powers have relieved the economic situation by ending reparations on condition that German trade improves.

In other words, they have relieved the economic situation by ending reparations on condition that the econ. sit. relieves itself. Hence the word "Success."

Further, to ensure peace and prosperity, they first signed the Convention and then made secret gentlemen's agreements not to ratify it unless America lets them off their own debts. Hence the word "gentlemen." Hence also the phrase in the preamble—"create a new order." The old order changeth, giving place to the one before that.

There will, of course, be just one more conference, to be known as the World Economic Conference, to finish off the questions that still remain. These are:

(a) Financial Questions: — Monetary and credit policy, exchange difficulties, price stabilization, etc.

(b) The Economic Question: — Improved conditions of production and interchange of goods, tariffs, quotas and other barriers to trade, etc.

In short—a conference to see if Capitalism can be made to work.

There may be one or two conferences after that, just to settle the remaining questions. But there is every reason to hope that (as Mr. MacDonald is sure to say) with the will to succeed and the determination to explore every avenue in a spirit of true cooperation, agreement will be reached on at least one of the points on condition that the economic blizzard has passed.

And if this is achieved, we shall then require just one more conference to discuss such remaining questions as (a) Financial questions, and (b) the economic question.

At the moment, however, we are discussing the next conference. I do not deny that there will be difficulties. Some people think that with the immeasurable powers of production that science has released, and the large number of ships lying idle all round everybody's coast, it should be easy for a conference of economic experts to distribute goods to the starving populations of the world.

That is crude reasoning. To do that would upset the profit-system which is the basis of commerce and the breath of the world's economic life. The mere distribution of goods is not the purpose of these conference. Any fool could produce and distribute goods. They do that in Russia. Hence the phrase of

by Yaffle

(From the British New Leader)

"robbers and murderers." The purpose of the conferences is to find ways of doing it at a financial profit.

The main difficulty here is that the profit-system makes competition inevitable between nations, and competition keeps lowering profits until nobody gets any at all, and distribution has to stop. The chief obstacle is modern machinery; it produces too much. It fills all the markets up with goods at such a rate that nobody can make a profit out of them. Thus we are faced with the alternative of either destroying production or destroying the profit-system. This is very embarrassing considering that profit-making is a law of nature, the only incentive to work, the breath of —, etc.

The conference, therefore, will have the job of deciding how to increase production while preserving the profit-system which destroys production.

Nevertheless, the problem is not insoluble. The great financial experts appear to be unanimous on certain points. Primarily—and most important—world prices must be raised. Nothing can be done without that. It is even more important than eating more fruit. Our experts are agreed that the cause of the crisis is the fall in prices, and not the other way about. This has been quite clear to me ever since I discovered that the cause of my cycling accident was that the road came up and hit me on the head.

But apart from such parallel examples it should be clear that the reason why people can't buy things is that they are too cheap. For this reason the financial experts are already demanding cheap money and credit. They intend, by inflation, to raise prices to the level of 1928, because that was the year when trade was running perfectly and everybody was happy and prosperous. I remember I bought a dinner-jacket.

The difficulties will not, however, be entirely overcome when prices have been raised, and the British and American bankers between them have arranged cheap money and credit. Prosperity will be almost here, but not quite. There will be two more slight snags: people will still be unable to buy the goods, and the nations will still be competing.

Prices will be raised, certainly, but as the cheap money and credit will only be for the producer and not for the con-

sumer, the markets of the world will still be as limited as before, and the nations will have to compete for them by bringing prices down again. And we shall still be faced with the alternative of destroying production or destroying our profit-system.

That will bring us to the purpose of the last conference of all—the final-final conference—to find a way of providing an inexhaustible market.

Hitherto the destruction of produce has always been regarded as a regrettable necessity in order to preserve the profit-system. This is not necessarily so. There is a way of making profits by the destruction of goods. I refer, of course, to War, or the profit-makers' last hope.

Here we have arrived at the purpose of the last conference between the Capitalist Powers—to arrange the war.

I do not mean war between the Capitalist Powers themselves. That is unthinkable. I mean, of course, war with Russia.

For the Russians, by abolishing profits and thus steadily growing prosperous, while all the other nations are declining, are menacing that profit-system which it is the sole object of all these conferences to preserve.

War—against these Powers of non-profit-making Darkness—is the only way out. It will stimulate production a millionfold; it will increase purchasing power; it will provide an inexhaustible market for our basic industries.

I hope, however, that the conference for this purpose will soon be held. For as things stand, at the end of the successful Lausanne Conference, Europe is lined up against the U. S. A., and unless they quickly unite to attack Russia, the unthinkable may accidentally find itself being thunk.

Some of you don't like war. You forget that it will be humane in future, for Britain has proposed the abolition of all tanks of 20 tons and over.

BRITISH ILP DISAFFILIATES

On July 30, by a vote of 241 to 142 the Independent Labor Party decided it was useless to cooperate with the Labor Party any longer and committed themselves to "immediate disaffiliation."

In the July 15 issue of the New Leader, organ of the ILP, H. N. Brailsford, stating the case against disaffiliation, said: "The ILP must undertake a struggle resembling that which the Communists have waged for several years. It must try to disintegrate the immense mass that confronts it."

News From Workers . . .

A HARLAN MINER WRITES

By A MINER

You could almost ride on the lips of the sheriff and the coal-operator lawyer down here, they are hanging out so long. The jury turned Chester Poore loose and twice F. M. Bratcher got a hung jury. The Commonwealth is fighting blindly now with its back just about broke.

After four miners were sent to the pen for life it looked like they would railroad all of them. But the people are getting tired of having their tax money spent by the operators to send miners to prison when we all know they are doing it to keep these men from leading the miners again in a struggle against the terrible conditions under which we live.

But when a miner does come clear of one murder charge they can try him again, as they have three indictments against each miner, including the 36 who are still to be tried.

The I. W. W. General Defense Committee is putting up an inspired fight to break down the frame-up and save them. The U. M. W. of A. is helping, but after breaking our strike last year by refusing to recognize us, which would have meant sending in relief, they have completely lost out and will never be able to organize this field again even if they really wanted to. The Communists are not helping.

The Communists are all gone and their union is dead but the I. W. W. is still alive in some places. The Communist union came in after the United Mine Workers let us down causing 3,000 or more to be blacklisted. We were desperate and the National Miners' Union leaders looked good, they worked underground but they had plenty nerve and hated the law. Where they made a mistake was in stuffing our pockets with *Daily Workers* and party papers. When the sheriff and his thugs caught us with these a crazy fight all over the county was started against Communism. It was not a question then if the miners could have a union, the whole question was whether the Communists could have a union. And we had too many people fighting us and the union couldn't stick it.

So no union is left and now who can we turn to for leadership? The mines cut wages again this Summer and conditions are worse than ever and get worse all the time. What is to be done? The old United Mine Workers has no

fight left in it, its leaders live in the past, they sit back in office chairs and cannot move. The N. M. U. did have the life to jump into the situation and shout it up for the revolution. But does this build unions? What the miners need here is a union. And I am of the opinion that it will have to be built by a leadership that lives in the present.

Things here are as usual, a lot of brow-beating and bullyism. There is plenty hunger and the miners most of them are sullen, they have bitterness in their hearts but keep their mouths shut to keep from being clubbed or starved.

There is talk that a Citizens' Ticket will be out in the election next fall but what we need is a miners' party.

We need a real union and a real labor party but the miners cannot move without leadership and this is what we are looking for.

ACROSS THE COUNTRY

By SAM BAKELY

During the past two years I have learned from personal experience what it means to be out of a job and I know of the dire need of many of my friends who are unemployed, but it took this cross-country trip—hitching and hopping freights—to give me a true picture of the unemployment situation today.

In the 2,500 miles which I have already covered I have seen entire families, many with children not more than a few months old, bundled into rattletrap Fords going from town to town bumming gas, food and shelter, hoping that eventually they would find jobs and a place to settle. Young married couples, by the dozens, either hitching or riding freights. Young girls and women, clad in overalls, doing the same.

Between Los Angeles and Kansas City I saw more than 2,000 people hitching in both directions. From Kansas City east the roads are absolutely littered with hitchers. And every freight train going in either direction carries anywhere from 40 to 200 so-called Hoover Bums, 80 per cent of them ranging in age from 18 to 25. Many families in Colorado, evicted from their homes, have pitched tents along the highways and live as best they can.

In Kansas large numbers of farmers are not cutting their wheat, saying, "with wheat selling at 31 cents per bushel and our land yielding only 6 or 7 bushels to the acre we save more by not harvesting it." Other farmers allow

the unemployed to crop the wheat, giving them half. The corn crops in western and northern Kansas are burning up from hot winds and lack of rain.

But in spite of the farmer's desperate plight he still believes in the fundamental soundness of our institutions. Occasionally I ran into one who talked Socialism or Communism but the great majority of them are going to switch to Roosevelt and Democracy to save them. They are still asleep and have not yet lost faith in their old gods. Perhaps it will take a few years more of suffering to do the trick.

BELMONT COUNTY, OHIO

By W. R. T.

For the past two months I have been working everyday opening kitchens in the county to feed the unemployed. I have made connection with one of the state relief stations and have been getting some supplies from it to feed the children.

Last Wednesday I went to Columbus and had a conference with the head of several departments and with Governor White hoping to have force brought on the county commissioners to issue relief bonds to care for the unemployed. The commissioners have refused to do anything and will do nothing. I feel, as long as the miners refuse to return to the mines.

This they are now beginning to do, for the backbone of the U.M.W. of A. strike has been broken. And I cannot blame them very much for returning to the mines. They have had no leadership to help them in their struggle.

In Belmont County semi-martial law has been declared. Scabs are escorted to and from work by airplane and motor convoy.

A move is now on to organize the complete county into the Belmont County Unemployment Relief Council and a meeting will be held for this purpose in the Court House at St. Clairsville this Saturday. I believe that there is a good chance here for organization of a labor party.

THE POOR RICH

By A POOR GIRL

Time drags pleasantly on for these dainty-mannered society folks in Southampton, and though times are admittedly bad, and "one" has had to let go a few servants, one simply must entertain.

For what difference in world financing could a little dinner party possibly make? One, for example, like that given by Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Mackay O'Brien (daughter of Clarence Mackay) for seventy-five guests at the fashionable Maidstone Club. I have, as yet, never been to the Maidstone Club but I understand that at the very cheapest a dinner may be gotten together that would put you behind a five spot. Well, let's see, 5 x 75 = \$375.

But they did have a perfect evening!

Mrs. Kenneth O'Brien, by the way, is the same lady who, together with a number of other society folks, has been scarcely able to hide her keen disappointment over Al Smith's failure to win the nomination. Mrs. O'Brien went so far as to declare herself "thoroughly distracted" by Roosevelt's victory, blaming MacAdoo. Indeed, so upset were these poor women by the convention results, that talk of Al Smith took precedence over many a dinner topic. What fascination a man of the common people notoriously famed for his grammatical peculiarities and humble origin can have for these delicately-spoken, governess-reared society people I cannot say. Any way, Al is a mighty popular fellow in these parts and to show his extreme appreciation spends his summers in a lovely Inn close by, occasionally participating in an affair or two in his honor.

Which makes me think of something else widely acclaimed, especially designed to drive out the depression blues—really this depression talk is just too tiresome and awful. That is the dinner and entertainment given for the Boys' Club. This is a yearly affair given for the benefit of all good little rich boys and one or two poor ones—for democracy's sake. Last year the guest of honor was Grover Whalen. This year he is also to take the seat but there will be an added attraction in the person of none other than that great lover of mankind and jolly good fellow, Alfred E. Smith. Tickets for this democratic affair are only six dollars (\$6.00). The fact that it is a public affair accounts for the inexpensive price.

Another highly advertised "beneficial" entertainment is the last of a series of unemployment dinners, dances, teas, tournaments, etc. The advertisement reads "Employ Your Gaiety for the Unemployed" and goes on to say, in the usual manner, that tho' you are assured a good time unemployed men are also assured a good meal! So come all ye good citizens.

But even in this height of beneficent glory Southampton cannot forget to honor its usual guests, and to lavish

inconceivable entertainment upon them. Prominent among these are the Honorable Nicholas Murray Butler, who has just arrived in his Yacht, and is about to open his "cottage" for the remainder of the season on one of the most beautiful streets imaginable, peculiarly called First Neck Lane.

However, tragedy, too, finds its destructive way into this haven. For example, only last week a wealthy summer resident who had been dispatched to Badenbaum for his health, pitifully cabled his doctor that though he had cut down to only three cigars a day, to eating only three meals and living strictly according to orders, he still had gained three pounds! Considering the general rotundity of stomach, this is indeed a tragedy of profound significance. The poor terrified man begged the doctor to send immediately his expert advice. Another sad story is that of the wealthy little soul, whom Best and Company were mercilessly tormenting over unpaid bills. If this kept up, and companies continued to dun those they had never dunned before the Reds would certainly get us, she cried aloud, which goes to show that even society folks have ears.

And she is not the only one in her clan who find themselves hardly able to keep the hungry wolf from their gilded door. Another prominent woman, asked for a loan by one of her friends, replied sadly that her funds had sunk so low it was impossible for her to do so. This poor creature passes away the dreary hours at the Hotel Irving whose minimum price is \$14 a day. Are you weeping?

WORKERS-COLLEGE GRADUATES!

Students for the 12th year of Brookwood, the resident labor college at Katonah, N. Y., are now being recruited, and you, LABOR AGE reader, are asked to tell us about any candidate who may be interested, including yourself!

The year immediately ahead will offer a crucial challenge to the workers' education movement. Although resources are drastically curtailed, the demand and need is greater than ever. Brookwood will have to limit its student body somewhat, and therefore applications should come in immediately, as students are now being selected. A few scholarships covering the entire cost of the course are available.

Industrial workers, trade unionists and young people connected with the labor movement are eligible, and next year Brookwood will accept a few students with college training, definitely sympathetic to the labor movement and wanting to fit themselves for some activity therein.

The seven and a half months course and the staff are the same as last year, as described in the Bulletin which may be had on request. More emphasis will be put on practical labor activities, and for the college students this will include field trips to industrial centers and participation in labor activities under trained leaders.

Send all suggestions and inquiries to The Secretary, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.

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Foreign News Notes

"The Workers Want Unity"

When the Communist International was formed, largely on the initiative of the Russian Communist Party, it was given a warm greeting by the French workers. In most countries a larger or smaller group split from the Socialist Party to form a new Party, but in France the Communists actually took over the whole Socialist membership and apparatus, and it was the few remaining Socialists who had to go out and build a party. Also, France knew no half-way group like the left Socialists of Germany and Austria; those who left the Second International, didn't stop till they reached the Third. Later, when the Communists decided on the un-Leninist tactic of splitting the mass unions, they appeared to have gotten away with it, for they took into their new trade union center tremendous masses of workers.

This is the Party which in the past two years has seen hundreds of thousands of workers go back into the old unions; which has within its own unions a powerful minority opposed to the bureaucracy and sectarian policies imposed from above; which in the recent national elections polled only two-thirds of its 1928 vote; which sees one after another of its mass organizations and publications lose in influence and circulation. The May issue of the F. S. U. magazine, for example, states, "Since the Congress of 1930, in spite of conditions objectively favorable to the development of our organization, such as, on the one hand, the economic crisis in all the capitalist states, and, on the other, the rapid development of the Soviet economy, we find ourselves before open threats of war against the Soviet Union, with less members than in 1930." Again, the organ of the Young Communist League in its issue of June 4, says that its subscription list has dropped from 594 in July 1931, to 475 as of May 1, 1932. At the same time the organ of the red unions is losing circulation.

Certainly in a period of deepening misery, the Communist Party and the red unions should be gaining members, even though the Communists might properly attribute the loss of circulation suffered by their publications to the poverty of the workers were it not that both the Socialist Party and the Party of Proletarian Unity are gaining readers and subscribers. Where have the Communist workers gone? The answer tells the story of the Party of Proletarian Unity, and, incidentally, shows the possibilities before the Socialist Worker's Party of Germany.

In 1922, the Communist International decided that its congresses should precede rather than follow the congresses of the constituent sections. Many French workers interpreted this to mean that the C. I. would make all decisions and decide all policies and that the congress of the Communist Party of France would become an empty formality. Since this coincided with the somewhat painful Bolshevikization of the French Party then being administered by Moscow, many workers left the Party in protest. Among those who left was Paul Louis, a member of the Central Committee, who proceeded to organize the Socialist Communist Party. This party was to be what its name implied; a bridge between the Communists and Socialists, combining the militancy of the former with some of the autonomy and indigenous flavor of the latter. The Party went on its way; gaining adherents; winning occasional parliamentary mandates, usually at the expense of the Communist Party; and trying to popularize a French rather than a Russian revolutionary program.

In 1922, there had been revolt against tyranny from without; in 1929, came revolt against tyranny from within. Protesting that democratic centralism had given way to centralized despotism, whether in day to day work or in forging the theoretical line, and rebelling against what they considered an ultra-left sectarian line, another group split from the Communist Party; this time to form the Workers' and Peasants' Party. Its existence, as well as its principles was that of the Socialist Communist Party, and in 1930, the two merged to form the Party of Proletarian Unity. The P.U.P. may be said to occupy the same political niche as the CPLA.

In America, with less than 10 per cent of the workers in unions, CPLA feels that the first and most immediate job is to organize the unorganized. In France, where the great majority of the workers belong to unions and vote for proletarian parties, the P.U.P. feels that the job is to unite the Communist and Socialist Parties on the political field, and the two great trade union centers (there are two little ones beside) on the industrial. The P.U.P. is trying to do the political work, while the Syndicalist League, with which it cooperates closely, does the industrial.

Today, after a comparatively brief existence, the P.U.P. counts 4,000 members, against the 15,000 in official Communist ranks. The significant fact beside is that the C.P. is losing members

while the P.U.P. is growing. The membership of the S.P. is 120,000, but it is not an active disciplined one. Above all, the P.U.P. is in friendly relationship with many local Communist groups which have split from the C.P. Each day sees some of these workers and groups actually join the P.U.P.

I spoke to Paul Louis, the political secretary, and asked him what future he held out for the French movement. "We are not sectarian," he replied, "and we do not demand that the workers unite in our ranks. We do not except unity to come because the workers join us one by one. What we do hope is that the working-class parties will be willing to get together, talk over their problems and find some way to get together. With this in mind we have already issued invitations to a unity congress. We know that the leaders wish to hold back, but we know that the workers will make them go forward, the workers want unity, and will sweep aside any selfish leadership which tries to prevent it."

"The P.U.P. has the warmest regards and the most loyal sympathy for the Soviet Union but it is unwilling to identify the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union with the disruptive and divisive tactics practised elsewhere by the Communist International. Also, although it will not give aid or comfort to imperialist or white guard elements, it feels it its duty to criticize the affairs of the Soviet Union in the same friendly spirit as it would criticize the labor movement of France or any other country. It believes that labor must organize internationally and so it participates with other left groups in the work of the Revolutionary socialist Bureau, but it is determined that international relations shall be on the basis of comradely co-operation and not on the basis of dictation by one section."

LAWRENCE COHEN.

The Proletarian United Front in Germany

(Translated from Kampfsignal)

It must unfortunately be noted that the powerful impetus towards the building of the proletarian United Front which we were able to report during the past few weeks, has not been gathering strength at the same pace this week. True enough, there are even today many gratifying indications of gains, which—chiefly through the untiring efforts of our comrades—are evidence that the entire working-class is being aroused to an

enthusiastic cooperation and fighting spirit to unite all workers' organizations for the struggle. We mention here as splendid examples, Naumburg, Duisburg-Hamborn, and Wetzlar.

But this impetus which is being felt throughout the entire working-class towards scrapping party differences in uniting for mass action, has alarmed the party Bureaucrats. They are obviously afraid that through this unified action they will lose their bureaucratic control over the masses. Thus we see at this time increased activity on the part of the Bureaucracy of the Socialist and Communist parties. They attempt wherever possible to take part only in "party" action, and warn against "useless" united action.

This applies in particular to the Socialist Party and the Mine Workers' leaders. With increased vehemence their voices are raised throughout the land, against the proletarian United Front in declaring that the "United Front is the Iron Front!" (the Iron Front is the Socialist Party Storm Troop). All Socialist Party and Mine Workers' publications are filled with this cry. In most places, particularly in the large cities, the Socialist Party defeats every attempt at mass demonstrations. To win their adherents away, it is almost the rule that invitations for united demonstrations are answered by demonstrations by the "Iron Front." At the same time, the Bureaucracy of the Socialist party even goes so far as often to allow police to hold off and attack troops of Socialist Workers Party and Reichsbanner comrades. In the Ruhr district, Socialist Party leaders have forbidden Socialist Party and Reichsbanner workers to take part in United Front demonstrations by party action.

It must also unfortunately be stated that the United Front sabotage has also been increased on the other side; that is, by the Communist Party Bureaucrats. The "Red Banner" finds it necessary at this time to carry on a regular campaign against any coming together with the Socialist Party, and, under the head "Lest we forget," brings a lot of ancient, decade-old sins of the Socialist party again into the limelight. That most rigid Communist Bureaucrat Ulbricht in a speech in Dusseldorf designated the United Front as a "dirt pile." In Dortmund, where our comrades attempted to come to an understanding with the Communist Party whereby a permanent united fighting front be maintained after the great red demonstration in which our comrades enthusiastically participated—the secretary of the Communist local declared that the Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Opposition Party must be destroyed. In Berlin,

the supposedly "above party" Anti-Fascist congress, was turned by the Communist Party Bureaucracy into a veritable party spectacle; and the proposed admission of Socialist Workers' Party and Communist Opposition Party delegates was refused. In Zwickau the Communist party leaders have destroyed the United Front committee.

In the face of the Nazi terror becoming daily more bloody, and the dozens of murdered workers from all camps of the workers' organizations, this United Front sabotage is criminal. It must be fought by every proletarian, by our own comrades, as well as by every Socialist Party and Communist Party worker, with every means at hand. What with the penetrating argument that took place in Naumburg, Wetzlar, Duisberg-Hamborn, and other places great success must be possible everywhere. Whoever stands in the way of the United Front must be cast aside! Fortunately the urge towards unity is gripping more and more of the working masses.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The above was written three weeks before the election.

The Japanese Farmers Organize

"Save the farmers" is not a new slogan in Japan. However, until recent years it was not given much attention, it had made about as much noise as a shower in spring. But now it has changed to a roar. It is no longer merely a word. It is the battle cry of the Japanese farmers.

At the end of 1931, Mr. Mushakohji, a critic and a novelist, and Mr. Murobushi, a journalist, organized "The League of Village Government" with aims to save the farmers from their critical condition. This February this organization split into an economic party and a political party.

About the middle of this April the political party of the former L. V. G. had a meeting in Tokyo with Mr. Inamura, a leader of the farmers' movement in Niigata prefecture, Mr. Wago, a farmers' leader in Nagano prefecture and Mr. Miyagoshi, a farmer in Fukushima prefecture. They organized the Farmers Federation, with the following aims:

1. To emancipate the farmers.
2. To rebuild Japan on an agrarian basis.

After this first meeting they had a joint meeting with other farmers' organizations and decided to take the following first steps:

1. To agitate for a three-year moratorium for farmers' debts to the government and private banks.
2. To fight for free fertilizer from the government to the amount of one yen for every ton (0.245 acre) of land.
3. To ask the government to give 50,-

000,000 yen to encourage emigration to Manchuria.

With these declarations they urged the farmers to organize and they got agreements of cooperation from 17 prefectures. They are going to put these demands to the coming Diet. If the Diet refuses them then they threaten to educate the innocent farmers in the true character of the political parties and to organize a united farmers' party.

On the other hand the organization is urging the farmers to become self-supporting in so far as possible. For example, it advised them to make their own chop suey sauce and to weave their own clothes. The Farmers' Federation discourages radical and fascist elements; its aim is to remake Japan into an agricultural country as she was 70 years ago.

ARNOLD Y. IIZAMI.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1932. State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Harry A. Howe, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and managing editor are:
Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.
Editor—Harry A. Howe, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.
2. That the owner is (If owned by a corporation its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given).
Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); A. J. Muste, President, Brookwood, Katonah, New York; Louis Francis Budenz, Managing Editor and Secretary, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

HARRY A. HOWE,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7th day of April, 1932.

(Seal) PETER R. HAWLEY,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1933)

New Books . . .

DICTATORSHIPS

Coup d'Etat: The Technique of Revolution, by Curzio Malaparte. E. P. Dutton & Co.

THIS book is sent to us with a letter from the president of E. P. Dutton and Company suggesting that it is important to read the volume because it is not at all impossible that some day a dictatorship may be established in the United States.

Signor Malaparte, we are told, is an Italian of Austrian descent, known as the "poet of Fascism," who volunteered in the Italian army at 15, aided in the seizure of Florence in the Fascist coup d'Etat of 1922, accompanied Mussolini on the famous March on Rome that same year, is a close friend of the Duce and "one of the few Italians who dare criticize the latter and say what they think." This last, judging from our reading of the book, does not mean very much, since what Malaparte thinks is in full accord with what Mussolini thinks.

The main thesis of this book is that the important thing in effecting a modern revolution is not grand strategy but the tactics of insurrection. Lenin he sets forth as the strategist, Trotsky as the tactician of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917, and he seems to regard Trotsky as the more important of the two. He seems actually to hold that it does not make any difference whether general conditions are favorable to revolutionary action. He speaks of "the tactics of insurrection as independent of the general condition of the country or of a revolutionary state of affairs favorable to insurrection." And again, "The Communist peril against which governments in modern Europe have to defend themselves, lies, not in Lenin's strategy, but in Trotsky's tactics." He quotes Trotsky with approval: "In order to be successful, one must not challenge an unfavorable circumstance nor trust to a favorable one. Hit your adversary in the stomach and the blow will be noiseless." The conditions which Lenin referred to as important for the triumph of the Bolsheviks in 1917, such as combining the Bolshevik revolution with the conclusion of an imperialist war, the presence of a democratic revolutionary movement among the peasants, etc., Malaparte describes as "characteristic of the Russian situation in 1917, but they are not indispensable to the successful outcome of a Communist coup d'Etat."

The essence of the tactics of insur-

rection is to attack the technical branches of the national and municipal government. "In order to overthrow the modern State you need a storming party, technical experts and gangs of armed men led by engineers." You seize electric stations, telephone and telegraph offices, the port, gas works and water mains. Trotsky is said to have had a storming party of a thousand men in Petrograd in 1917 who repeatedly and carefully rehearsed just exactly what each one would do when the proper moment arrived.

Kapp in Germany, Pilsudski in Poland, and Primo De Rivera in Spain, failed because they did not understand and use this tactic of insurrection. Stalin won against Trotsky, so Malaparte contends, because Trotsky thought too late of using against him the insurrectionary tactics he had used in Petrograd in 1917 against Kerensky. Mussolini understood and used the tactics of insurrection, as the Italian trade unionists and Socialists did not, and so he won. This chapter on Mussolini the reviewer heartily commends to all students of the labor movement. Of the left wingers in Italy in 1919-21, including the Communists, Malaparte asserts that "over and over again opportunities were lost or mismanaged during the Red Year of 1919 when any little Trotsky, any little provincial Catiline with a little spirit, a handful of men and a few rifle shots could have captured the State. . . . The wise and cheery Lenin used to roar with laughter over the news from Italy: 'The Italian Communists, ha, ha, ha!'"

There is a scathing chapter on Hitler who is described as "a man with a great future behind him."

A number of passages in this book indicate that Malaparte himself recognizes that many conditions must be fulfilled before a revolutionary coup d'Etat can succeed. Certainly anybody who thinks that in a country like the United States where so many essential services over so vast a territory would have to be seized, you can have an insurrection just like that if a couple of thousand engineers and strong-arm men would put their minds to it, is an idiot and a very dangerous one. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that the underlying conditions might be favorable and the opportunity lost through failure to apply sound tactics adapted to machine age conditions. The book is brilliant, eminently readable, revealing, and to be taken with a few grains of salt in spots.

A. J. M.

BOURGEOIS BOLSHEVIKI

The American Jitters. By Edmund Wilson. 313 pp. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York and London. \$2.50.

Half a generation ago there was a movement of American Liberals toward the left. World war disillusionment, the Bolshevik Revolution and British Labor's apparent militancy were stimulating causes. Then came the jazz age, Menckenism and "Prosperity"—and "left Liberalism" sickened almost unto death.

Today the World Crisis, with its "acid test of Capitalism," and the Five-Year Planning of the Soviet Union have revived the Liberals' leftward trend. The tendency is now much more impressive and its intellectual representatives much more substantial in character and attainments. The literary world has been compelled to note their change of heart; on some occasions it has been momentarily convulsed by the challenge they present to "pure and simple" artists.

Of these "intellectuals" Edmund Wilson is perhaps the most clear-headed and the most keen-sighted. He can write well, with rare reportorial genius. If you doubt that, read "A Bad Day in Brooklyn" or "Foster and Fish" in this book on America's depression jitters. He has accepted the Marxian faith of a Communist sort, as he explains in "The Case of the Author." He has a deep appreciation, just the same, for the need of a radical labor movement springing out of the American soil; his "Frank Keeney's Coal Diggers" unconsciously reveals that. For one not in the labor struggle, he has rather quickly grasped the significance of many of the forces at work in that class set-to: see "Lawrence, Mass., and "The Best People." Of the heat-provoking events, he can write sometimes in that calm manner which is often more convincing than blood-and-thunder, as we see in "The Freight Car Case," an account of Scottsboro.

We have here, then, a book which should be read by active laborites, even though it was written for bourgeois "intellectuals," of which the author perforsce admits himself a part. There are defects in the book as a whole, a number of them, which arise from chance reporting and that bourgeois background. We are informed, for instance, that the United Textile Workers and the American Federation of Textile Workers collaborated with the police against the National Textile Worker's Union in Lawrence. Mr. Wilson cannot tell, of

course, of the fight of the amalgamated A. F. of L. unions, under CPLA inspiration, for protection for the Communist picket lines in Paterson. He cannot write of that or of the unsuccessful efforts of the Communists on their part to break up meetings in Paterson in the name of "unity." He is limited in such information by his not having been in the New Jersey city in strike time. But such limitations tend to give false pictures of the realities which the American worker faces.

Again, the author can choose for his sketches only those events which serve to give striking or emotion-producing results. That is good reporting, as it goes today, and it also fits in with the audience he addresses. Our American "intellectuals" are moved, after all, more by their hearts than by their heads. The worker, however, has to contend with grim realities, many of which are prosaic and even drab from an emotional viewpoint. He has to work out the problem of how to maintain his existence and such small power as he may get, between strike upheavals and from day to day. That has a tremendous importance in the concrete job of translating "works" into the Marxian faith that may be in us.

Mr. Wilson cannot help there as yet, for he has not gotten down to the battle of the workers. Instinctively he realizes the bankruptcy of the Socialist Party. Instinctively he knows there is something wrong with the A. F. of L. Instinctively he believes in an Americanized version of the Communist movement. Beyond that he cannot go.

With these reservations, the book can be warmly recommended. While it provides few answers for the class-conscious workers, it is full of real interest. Mr. Wilson is to be congratulated for getting along the road as far as he has gone. After all, we cannot make a book what it does not pretend to be. And the work that will be a true literary creation and at the same time give full life to the realities of American industrial scenes has yet to be written.

"The American Jitters" is by far the best that the leftward turning Liberals have yet to offer.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ.

A BOURGEOIS ECONOMIST AND THE CYCLE

"Economic Stabilization in the Unbalanced World," by Alvin H. Hansen. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.

AS this is a text in international economic problems, it covers a considerable range of topics. These include

war debts and reparations, capital exports, Russian dumping, population and migration problems, comparative standards of living, housing, and industrial instability. The Chapter entitled "Russian Dumping," written by Dr. Zelovich of Budapest and an utterly absurd piece of theorizing, is the only really poor chapter in the book. Although Hansen's general treatment is distinctly theoretical he rarely cuts off entirely from the background of reality.

His most important chapters are those dealing with the business cycle and unemployment. Here Hansen combines an erudite eclecticism with some originality. The point of view is decidedly opposed to the Hobsonian underconsumption theory. Prof. Hansen emphatically states that the maldistribution of wealth has positively no relationship to the business cycle. His analysis is essentially a cost and price analysis pointing to the maladjustment of the different components of the price structure as the causal factor and the initial fluctuation coming in the field of capital equipment. An important point in labor strategy is involved here. Hobson and many popular writers advocate struggle against wage reductions during depressions, thus maintaining consumption. Hansen and the great majority of business cycle theorists contend that this merely increases costs when prices are falling, thus throwing more men out of work.

Hansen's logic inescapably leads him to the conclusion that alternations of prosperity and depression are inevitable in a dynamic capitalism. Furthermore he thinks depressions may tend to deepen as the industrial system spreads and luxury goods with their unstable demand enter more largely into our budgets. On page 293 he states, "It is quite impossible to achieve genuine business stability in a dynamic society. If you have a stable price level, maladjustments develop because this condition cannot be maintained without creating an inequality between investment and saving. And if an equilibrium of investment and saving is maintained, then you inevitably suffer the maladjustment incident to a falling price level."

Moderation through stabilization of those prices least affected by cyclical fluctuations, a very novel but not illogical suggestion, is advocated. But Hansen gloomily recognizes that the primary requisite of any successful price stabilization, international cooperation, is wanting and is receding farther into the future as the present wave of nationalism grows more intense.

Hansen's theories logically and inevitably lead him to the conclusion that only an economic system which arbitrarily

controls both production and consumption, i. e. communism, can eliminate industrial instability. A half-baked socialism and other partial measures won't do. Cartels and capitalistic planning only make the situation worse. If the matter were dropped here, Prof. Hansen would most certainly be perched in a perilous position. He would open himself to the charge of being a Communist, indeed a dreadful predicament for an academician in an institution of higher learning. The professor uncovers his hat and—lo! we find an agile though apologetic defender of our diseased economic order. He would have us believe that the business cycle—within limits—is a good thing! With a phraseology betokening revolutionary events Hansen then humanely asserts that "More and more modern societies will not and cannot sacrifice the individual in the interest of pure productive efficiency," thus throwing the sop of unemployment insurance to discontented labor.

Hansen's belief in the great economic efficiency of modern capitalism is simply unfounded. It is merely one of those dogmatic prejudices which he has carried along from his earlier years, other and depressing examples of which are seen in his discussion of immigration. If it were not for some of these prejudices and, incidentally, his well-paid position, the conservative Mr. Hansen might wake up some fine morning to find himself waving a red flag.

This is really a solid book; as Hansen himself says, "It has guts." I especially recommend it for those who think the underconsumption theory is the only possible explanation of industrial fluctuation.

ROBERT C. GRAHAM.

AN X-RAY OF AMERICA

A Picture of America. Charles Cross. Simon & Schuster. New York. \$1.50.

It is very easy for language to be obscure and confused. The language in which American radicals have sought to present their case has only too often seemed as if especially designed to bring home this fact. Pictures, on the other hand, can have a directness, simplicity, and universality of appeal which language, even at its best, must lack. The immense popularity of "New Russia's Primer" showed how this fact might be utilized in the interests of propaganda for a new social order.

In "New Russia's Primer," much of the effect was derived from a comparison of planned production in Russia and planlessness in America. Mr. Cross, since he confines himself to this coun-

try, is able to portray very graphically the effects of planlessness, but, when he comes to describe America as it might be, he is forced to resort largely to words and statistics, which, though well chosen and admirably presented, lack the force of his pictures.

While Mr. Cross, in his table of depression, shows very clearly that recurrent crises are an essential part of capitalism, he does not make the reasons as clear as he might. Instead of impressing upon the reader the fact that the basic cause of depressions under capitalism is the inability of the masses to buy back what they have produced, he places what seems an excessive emphasis on the role of technological unemployment. On the whole, however, the book is a clear and thorough portrayal of the chaos that is capitalism.

Another defect of the book, in the opinion of the reviewer, is Mr. Cross's attempt to distinguish between communism and socialism on page 73. "There is great confusion between the two party labels—Socialist and Communist," explains Mr. Cross. "They both work for the same eventual, planned, orderly world. But with this tremendous difference: The Socialists want it to come peacefully, by the will of the majority, by the principles of democracy, by political revolution. The Communists say it can come only by violent revolution." This statement implies that communists are people who glory in blood-shed, the same argument used against them by the enemies of both the Socialists and the Communists.

Such an argument is silly—and not honest. Those Socialists who continue to emphasize their non-violent intentions seem to forget that violence is upon the head of those who exploit and oppress the workers and not upon the head of those who fight the battle of the workers! It is not those who work for a new social order, those who organize the workers against capitalist and imperialist war, than want violence. It is those who oppose the birth of this new social order that must be held responsible for the bloodshed and the violence.

MAURICE GOLDBLOOM.

THE HARLAN MINERS

Harlan Miners Speak. A symposium.
Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$2.00.

Let's say this book is a telescope. You look through it. It is taken for granted that you have found a safe place from which to do your observing. But you look through it, and you find yourself

looking at a mine-war down in Kentucky. You see the background, life-size and ably drawn, leading to the struggle. You see men working long hours for low wages, and women without shoes, and on the hill-sides row upon row of boxed-houses perched upon stilts—places where the miners live. You probably want to turn away, some of the things you see are shocking, past belief, but now you see a ray of hope; the miners are talking in little groups, they are talking union, and now they begin to march. Up and down the valleys, here and there, they march, ten thousand miners.

The world is familiar with the story of what happened to the Harlan miners. The good Commonwealth lent its soldiers to the coal operators. The august law lent itself to the coal operators. And together they launched against the miners and their families a campaign of terrorism. The county of Harlan, the state of Kentucky, the government of America versus the miners. But the miners stuck it out for eight months. They were plenty bold. They surrendered, turned in their cards, quit talking union, when their bellies were empty and the last jar of blackberries was gone. Legalized terrorism and a hunger blockade forced them back to the mines, the pick and shovel, to be further exploited and sacrificed to a chaotic, top-heavy, tottering industry.

Harlan Miners Speak, written by a score of American writers and journalists who, headed by Theodore Dreiser and Waldo Frank, went into Harlan, saw, and hurried out, some with clubbed heads, tells the story from three angles, as seen by intellectuals, by the "law" and the miners. While the book tells at length about the terrorization of the miners, nowhere does it tell of the terror that reigned among the sheriff's men when, driven ahead by the operators to check the rising tide of unionism, suddenly they discovered that the miners could fight—and would fight. After the Evarts' battle and until the arrival of the militia the sheriff's gunmen were demoralized and fearfully pale.

The National Miners' Union, Communist led, and following upon the retreating heels of the United Mine Workers of America, entered Harlan and found the miners friendly, more than friendly, and ready to continue the struggle for better conditions. Many of them were soon to be whipped and slugged for talking the new union. The accounts, miners' speeches and testimony, put together in this volume before the end of NMU action in Harlan, might perhaps leave the impression that there was at that time hope for Kentucky miners in a new union deal. But today the NMU is out, crushed

out, the miners are disorganized, reaction and disillusionment prevail.

Proceeds from the sale of the book, the publishers announce, will go to the Harlan miners.

TESS HUFF.

CHAOS

World Chaos, William McDougall. Co-vici-Friede, N. Y. 117 pages. \$1.00.

The thesis of this little book is twofold, says the author, "first, that physical science has been the principal agent in bringing about the very rapid changes in our social, economic and political conditions which are the source of our troubles; secondly, in that the development of the neglected social sciences lies our only hope of remedy for these troubles."

In developing the first part of this thesis the author does a good job. He describes very well the part science has played in the development of capitalist civilization. Like many of his kind before him, however, he describes what is effect for cause. Thus, according to him, the chaos of western civilization is due not to the capitalist form of society but to the uneven development of our sciences. He doesn't see that science is an expression of the social order and not the other way round.

The second part of his thesis follows naturally from the first; what has to be done now to save "civilization" from collapse is to develop the social sciences. This of course will take some time. "On a hopeful view," he assures us, "another 20 years would elapse before substantial progress along this line might be expected."

Although Mr. McDougall gives considerable space to describing the shortcomings of economics, in no place does he mention Marx or Engels or does he at any time show that he has ever heard of their writings. He does, however, give some consideration to Mr. Stuart Chase and his "planning." As an example of how little a lecturer before the University of Manchester can know about the social sciences the book is worth reading.

H. A. H.

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A Conference of Southern Workers

(Continued from page 5)

from the workers. Some organizations are not interested because the workers have no money to pay dues.

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"The Southern Industrial League and the CPLA are here to help you, glad to cooperate in organizing and in strikes. Send for me—I'll come humping on Hoover's bus. (That's what we call freight trains out here.) I'll help you get out a sheet like the *Shuttle*. I'll help you start classes. That's the main thing now, start small groups. The workers are ripe for organization. The unemployed are going to play an important role. Everybody is tired of the Federal Farm Board flour, it's full of weevils, we can't live on that."

He tells about the Progressive Far-

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mers' League which recently staged a mass protest against the sale of land for taxes. The farmers have debates, labor plays, classes, current events discussions. The League was organized by Hogan.

A. J. Muste, executive chairman of the CPLA, conducted the discussion and speaks in conclusion:

"There is no easy way to build the labor movement. It cannot be done without evictions, hunger, strikes, jail, and the policeman's club. We have plenty good starters, we need good finishers. It will take courage, it will take endurance, it will take patience. A long struggle is often necessary before results are gained.

"There are things you can do—talk to others, form small groups, distribute literature, report to Larry Hogan what's happening in your field.

"We shouldn't all be talkers, we need people who will do something about it."

Some delegates who were expected didn't get to the conference. One man caught and tore his last shirt in a machine. One was sick from pellagra. Others, it was reported, were detained by sores caused by muddy stagnant water sprayed through humidifiers in the mills.

Unemployed Begin To Act

(Continued from page 9)

the Organization of the Unemployed," the unemployed workers must at all times cooperate with the employed in keeping up wages and conditions. Otherwise the unemployed become the tools of the bosses in executing their wage-slashing policies. To keep up the living standards of the workers, declares a Paterson silk worker, it is just as important that the unemployed be organized as the employed, and they must be organized against the bosses and not for them.

But the workers are learning. The old tried and sure schemes of dividing the workers are becoming less and less effective. The brutality of the authorities is teaching them that "democracy" and "Americanism" are good for the bosses but bad for them, that their job is to organize to fight the system which makes bums out of them in times of peace and cannon fodder in times of war. The traditional apathy of the American worker, his traditional "reasonableness" and "orderliness," will soon be things of the past. The third winter of the depression, from present indications, will tell a new story.

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